

EXHIBIT NO. PTX-008 evid.  
CAUSE NO. 3:22-cv-00734-DPJ-HSO-LHS  
WITNESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CLERK: SHONE POWELL

FEB 26 2024

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI  
Candice Crane, REPORTER

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI  
SOUTHERN DIVISION

MISSISSIPPI STATE CONFERENCE OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; DR.  
ANDREA WESLEY; DR. JOSEPH WESLEY; ROBERT  
EVANS; GARY FREDERICKS; PAMELA HAMNER;  
BARBARA FINN; OTHO BARNES; SHIRLINDA  
ROBERTSON; SANDRA SMITH; DEBORAH  
HULITT; RODESTA TUMBLIN; DR. KIA JONES;  
ANGELA GRAYSON; MARCELEAN ARRINGTON;  
VICTORIA ROBERTSON,

*Plaintiffs,*

vs.

STATE BOARD OF ELECTION COMMISSIONERS;  
TATE REEVES, *in his official capacity as Governor of  
Mississippi*; LYNN FITCH, *in her official capacity as Attorney  
General of Mississippi*; MICHAEL WATSON, *in his official  
capacity as Secretary of State of Mississippi*,

*Defendants,*

and

MISSISSIPPI REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE,

*Intervenor-Defendant.*

CIVIL ACTION NO.

3:22-cv-734-DPJ-HSO-LHS

**SECOND AMENDED EXPERT REPORT OF DR. BYRON D'ANDRA OREY**

PTX-008-001

3:22-cv-734

PTX-008

## I. INTRODUCTION

I have been asked by the attorneys for the plaintiffs in this case to provide a report regarding Senate Factor 5. I have prepared this report pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 26(a)(2)(B). I am being compensated at a rate of \$200 per hour for my work on this case. My compensation is not contingent on or affected by the substance of my opinions or the outcome of this litigation. My work in this matter is ongoing, and I reserve the right to amend, modify, or supplement my analysis and opinions.

## II. SUMMARY OF PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

I am a full professor with tenure in the Department of Political Science at Jackson State University and a former chair of the Department of Political Science. I have conducted significant research in the area of race and political behavior, including racially polarized voting. This research has been presented at professional conferences and published in peer reviewed scholarly journals. These journals include, but are not limited to, *Social Science Quarterly*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *American Politics Research*, *Politics and Policy*, *Race and Policy* and *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. I currently have a book under contract with the University of Mississippi press, *Mississippi Conflict and Change* with renowned scholar James Loewen. I have also served on the executive committees for the American Political Science Association, the Southern Political Science Association, and the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. I have served as Vice President for the Southern Political Science Association and the Editorial Board for the *American Political Science Review* and *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. Commentary related to my work has appeared in several media outlets, including National Public Radio, Al Jazeera, MSNBC, CNN, the Daily Beast, and the News Hour (PBS).

Attached as Appendix 1 is a curriculum vitae setting forth my professional background, which includes a list of all publications I have authored or co-authored. I have also testified as an expert trial witness on racially polarized voting in *Johnson v. Hamrick*, No. 91-CV-02(N.D. Ga.), a redistricting case involving city council elections in Gainesville, Georgia. I have given similar reports for several other cases where I have given depositions but did not testify. These include *Levis v. Alamance County*, No. 92-CV-614 (M.D.N.C) and *Jackson v. Nassau County Board of Supervisors*, No. 91-CV-3720 (E.D.N.Y.). I am also a proposed expert witness in *White v. State Board of Election Commissioners*, 22-cv-62 (N.D. Miss.), a Voting Rights Act case involving Mississippi's state supreme court districts. I have also provided consultation related to the electoral structure for the City of Hampton, Virginia.

## III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- Black Mississippians bear the effects of discrimination in a number of socioeconomic areas, hindering their ability to participate effectively in the political process. Economic status is closely linked to voting behavior, with poverty and abject poverty particularly affecting voter participation, especially among Black communities in Mississippi. The state's persistent poverty status and racial disparities in poverty rates contribute to the overall economic challenges faced by its residents, particularly people of color. The significant economic disparity between Black

and White Mississippians is also observable with respect to income and rates of receiving Food Stamps/SNAP benefits, as well as other markers such as broadband access.

- Education is also closely linked to voting behavior, and here too there is a significant education disparity between Blacks and Whites in Mississippi. Approximately 18 percent of Blacks have less than a high school education, while only 10 percent of Whites do. Additionally, there is a 10 percent difference in the proportion of Blacks and Whites with bachelor's or graduate degrees, with about 28 percent of Whites holding such degrees compared to only 18 percent of Blacks. Educational disparities are also evidenced and exacerbated by the prevalence of de facto segregation in education in Mississippi. Bivariate correlation analysis shows a negative link between Black enrollment percentage and test scores, suggesting that as Black enrollment rises, scores drop. Conversely, predominantly White districts see higher scores as White enrollment increases. This underscores the role of district racial composition in shaping standardized test performance outcomes.
- Other disparities further hinder Black Mississippians' ability to participate on equal terms. Black households are twice as likely as White households to not own vehicles. This discrepancy in vehicle ownership creates obstacles for reaching polling stations and engaging in voting. Black individuals face significant challenges in affording private health insurance. These disparities reflect historical and ongoing inequities that have limited Black people's access to essential resources, including quality healthcare. Thousands of Black Mississippians are also permanently disenfranchised due to Mississippi's lifetime ban on voting for persons with certain felony convictions.
- The effect of these disparities is observable in the lower rates of participation by Black voters. Using three separate data sets, the turnout for Blacks in 2020 is estimated at between 46 percent and 57 percent (between 57 percent and 72 percent among registered voters) and for Whites, between 60 percent and 66 percent (between 70 percent and 87 percent among registered voters). Regardless of which data set we use, there was at least a 10-point gap in turnout between Blacks and Whites.
- I utilized regression analysis to investigate the connection between different socioeconomic factors and voting patterns. The results indicate that, consistent with the extant academic literature, Black individuals who received food stamps or who lack insurance have a lower tendency to vote, while Black voters with higher degrees of educational attainment are more likely to vote.

#### IV. SENATE FACTOR 5

*Senate Factor 5. The extent to which members of the minority group in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process.*

Civic engagement plays a vital role in the smooth functioning of democracy, as individuals' participation in civic life and democratic government is essential for creating and maintaining

community resources and addressing social issues.<sup>1</sup> However, certain segments of society are marginalized, making it difficult for them to actively participate in the political process. In particular, racial disparities related to various socio-economic variables and other resources associated with voting between Blacks and Whites in Mississippi lead to racial disparities in terms of participation at the voting booth.

Voting demands, among other things, resources that not everyone possesses. In 1957, Anthony Downs introduced an economic theory of voting, suggesting that people choose to vote when the benefits outweigh the costs associated with it. Political participation requires valuable resources such as time, knowledge, and money, and some individuals are better equipped to afford these costs than others. Research shows that wealthier individuals tend to participate in politics more than those with fewer financial resources.<sup>2</sup> Money is particularly influential, as it can be converted into additional political resources that enhance voting opportunities. For instance, while a car may not be a prerequisite for voting, owning one significantly facilitates the participation process.

In essence, individuals with limited resources may find political involvement to be a luxury they cannot afford, especially when the perceived advantages of voting do not outweigh the associated costs. For example, economically disadvantaged individuals may be unable to take time off from work to vote because they must prioritize paying rent, providing food for their families, and maintaining their vehicles, among other essential needs.<sup>3</sup>

In Mississippi, as described below, racial disparities exist along a host of socioeconomic metrics, such as income, employment, education, access to the internet and to vehicles, and health, all of which can affect the costs and burdens of civic participation and disproportionately hinder Black Mississippians ability to participate in the electoral process.

### **Poverty, Income, Employment and Voting**

Extensive research indicates a strong correlation between income and voting behavior.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, studies specifically focused on Mississippi have found that abject poverty is a significant factor influencing voter participation.<sup>5</sup> Given the substantial link between poverty and race, this impact on

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<sup>1</sup> Levine, P. (2013). *We are the ones we have been waiting for: The promise of civic renewal in America*. Oxford University Press.

<sup>2</sup> Among many, see Verba, S., & Nie, N. H. (1972). *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York Harper & Row (Chapter 8, p.2); Wolfinger, R. and Rosenstone S.J. (1980). *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press,, pp. 20-26.

<sup>3</sup> Wolfinger & Rosenstone (1980), p. 20; Rosenstone, S.J. (1982) Economic Adversity and Voter Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 26, pp. 25–26; Radcliff, B. (1991). The Welfare State, Turnout, and the Economy: A Comparative Analysis (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association).

<sup>4</sup> Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K. L. (1995). Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation. *American Political Science Review*, 89(2), 271–294. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2082425>; Wolfinger & Rosenstone (1980).

<sup>5</sup> Austin, S. (2006). *The Transformation of Plantation Politics*. SUNY Press; Austin, S., Franklin, S.M., & Lewis, A.K. (2013). The Effects of Concentrated Poverty on Black and White Political Participation in the Southern Black Belt. *Grassroots and Coalitions*

participation disproportionately affects Black communities when compared to their White counterparts.

Economically, Mississippi continues to be one of the poorest states in the nation. According to the 2021 American Community Survey (ACS), roughly 14.4 percent of Mississippians lived in poverty. A report by the Robert Wood Johnson foundation reveals that half of Mississippi's 82 counties have been designated as counties of persistent poverty.<sup>6</sup> Persistent poverty is a technical term used by the federal government to classify counties where poverty rates have remained at 20 percent or more for the past 30 years.<sup>7</sup> Persistent poverty can be found in 407 counties across the nation. More than 10 percent of those counties are in Mississippi, even though the State makes up less than one percent of the U.S. population. Decaying infrastructure, schools with leaky roofs, and rural hospitals that have closed are all signs of persistent poverty. More than half of the residents of Mississippi counties living in persistent poverty are people of color.

When comparing Blacks and Whites in Mississippi, the percentage of persons living below the poverty line was significantly higher for Blacks. According to Table 1, data from the American Community Survey (ACS) reveal that 31 percent of Blacks live below the poverty line compared to only 11.5 percent of Whites.

**Table 1. Percent Below Poverty**

Race	%Below Poverty
Blacks	31.0%
Whites	11.5%
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i>	

Moreover, there are also disparities between the two racial groups when examining income levels. Based on median household income data derived from the 2021 ACS, Table 2 reveals that the median Black household earned approximately \$33,541, compared to \$61,340 for Whites.

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<sup>6</sup> Plough, A.L. (Ed.) (2022). Prologue. *Necessary Conversations: Understanding Racism as a Barrier to Achieving Health Equity*. Retrieved from <https://www.rwjf.org/en/insights/our-research/2022/05/necessary-conversations--we-need-to-talk-about-race-health-and-equity.html>

<sup>7</sup> Plough (2022).

**Table 2. Median Household Income**

Race	Median Household Income
Blacks	\$33,541
Whites	\$61,340
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i>	

Another indicator of poverty is the percentage of people receiving Food Stamps/SNAP Benefits. As per Table 3, Blacks were more than three times as likely as Whites to receive Food Stamps/SNAP benefits, with almost 25 percent of Blacks receiving them compared to only 7 percent of Whites.

**Table 3. Food Stamps/SNAP Benefits**

Race	%Receiving Food Stamps
Blacks	24.6%
Whites	7.0%
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i>	

However, a recent study by the Census suggests that the number of individuals *eligible* for food stamps would serve as an even stronger poverty indicator. Based on this study, Mississippi had the nation's highest rate of individuals *eligible* for Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits in 2020 — nearly 1 in 3.<sup>8</sup> Roughly 53.1 percent of non-Hispanic Black Mississippians and 19.5 percent of the state's non-Hispanic White alone populations were eligible for Food Stamps/SNAP benefits.

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<sup>8</sup> Knop, B., Foster, T.B., Marshall, J., & Bhaskar, R. (2023, Jan. 20). *Nearly One in Three Mississippians Eligible for Food Assistance*, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2023/01/mississippians-eligible-for-food-assistance.html>.

Like income and poverty, unemployment has been a topic of prolonged examination concerning its effect on electoral participation.<sup>9</sup> Studies have shown that losing a job can have a lasting impact on an individual's engagement in the political process. It may take several election cycles before someone reenters the realm of voting.<sup>10</sup>

Table 4 illustrates that Blacks in Mississippi are more than twice as likely to be unemployed when compared to their White counterparts.

**Table 4. Unemployment Rates**

Race	%Unemployed
Blacks	10.5%
Whites	3.9%
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i>	

### Education and Voting

Apart from poverty, income, and employment, research consistently indicates that citizens with higher levels of education are more likely to participate in voting.<sup>11</sup> As Wolfinger & Rosenstone (1980) argue, “education imparts information about politics and cognate fields and about a variety of skills, some of which facilitate political learning... Schooling increases one’s capacity for understanding and working with complex, abstract and intangible subjects, that is, subjects like politics.”<sup>12</sup> In order to cast a ballot, citizens must first register to vote; they must understand the issues and have knowledge of the candidates on the ticket. This can prove to be a daunting task for those who are less educated.

Recall that Downs proposed voting as a function of costs and benefits, with voters carefully weighing the two factors.<sup>13</sup> Those with greater resources were more inclined to vote. To support this notion, Wolfinger and Rosenstone argued that variables such as education and income play a

<sup>9</sup> Grafstein, R. (2005). The Impact of Employment Status on Voting Behavior. *The Journal of Politics*, 67(3), 804–824. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2005.00340.x>

<sup>10</sup> Azzollini, L. (2021). The scar effects of unemployment on electoral participation: Withdrawal and mobilization across European societies. *European Sociological Review*, 37(6), 1007–1026. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcab016>.

<sup>11</sup> Campbell, A., Converse, P.E., Miller, W.E., & Stokes, D.E. (1960). *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley, Chapter 17; Verba & Nie (1991), Chapter 8; Wolfinger & Rosenstone (1980), pp. 18–26.

<sup>12</sup> Wolfinger & Rosenstone (1980), p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Voting*. New York: Harper & Row.

significant role in voter participation, particularly in voting behavior.<sup>14</sup> These authors suggest that education does three things as it relates to voting. It increases cognitive skills which facilitates learning about politics. It increases one's ability to pay attention to politics, to understand or process political information and to gather the information necessary for making political decisions. Second, the authors argue that more educated individuals tend to get more gratification out of voting, thereby increasing the likelihood of voting. Lastly, education allows individuals to navigate the bureaucratic process. In other words, more educated people are more likely to understand the hurdles to vote such as standing in long lines or meeting deadlines or simply filling out forms.

Empirically, Table 5 reveals a notable education disparity between Blacks and Whites in Mississippi. Approximately 18 percent of Blacks have less than a high school education, while only 10 percent of Whites fall into the same category. Moreover, there is a 10 percentage-point difference in the proportion of Blacks and Whites with bachelor's or graduate degrees. About 28.5 percent of Whites hold a bachelor's degree or higher, whereas only 18 percent of Blacks have achieved similar levels of education.

**Table 5. Educational Attainment (Mississippi)**

2021 American Community Survey Data	Races	
	Whites	Blacks
Population 25 years and over	1,164,987	693,656
Less than high school diploma	10.3%	17.9%
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	28.4%	33.1%
Some college or associate's degree	32.9%	30.8%
Bachelor's degree	18.1%	11.0%
Graduate or professional degree	10.4%	7.2%
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i>		

<sup>14</sup> Wolfinger & Rosenstone (1980), pp. 18–26.

Disparities in educational opportunity and attainment can also be observed indirectly by examining segregation patterns. For example, when observing patterns of segregation in housing, it becomes evident that residential segregation plays a crucial role in shaping educational outcomes. With respect to K-12 schooling in Mississippi, several regions, including the state's capital and most of the Delta, have regressed into nearly-complete racial segregation. In this context, Blacks predominantly remain in the public school system, while Whites increasingly opt for all-White or predominantly White "academies."<sup>15</sup> Whites fled Jackson, the capital city, in favor of majority White adjacent cities like Clinton, Brandon, Pearl and Ridgeland. This pattern of residential movement further exacerbates the existing disparities in educational opportunities and attainment between the two racial groups.

In some communities, the re-emergence and persistence of segregation in education is so extreme that the U.S. Department of Justice has intervened. For example, the Brookhaven school district in Lincoln County is still grappling with predominantly segregated classrooms, some entirely Black and others majority White. This persistent segregation was facilitated by an informal "parental request" policy that permits parents to request specific teachers for their elementary-aged children. As recently as 2023, the Department of Justice intervened, ordering 32 schools to desegregate.<sup>16</sup>

According to sociologists Jim Loewen, residential segregation exacerbates all other forms of racial discrimination.<sup>17</sup> In Mississippi, the degree of segregation is evident in the stark contrasts between two counties that share borders. The counties of Hinds and Rankin are neighboring counties located in the northwest corner of the state. Based on 2020 census data, Hinds was 73.5 percent Black and 24.7 White. Blacks had a median household income of \$40,339. Rankin county, on the other hand, was 74.3 percent White and 22.7 percent Black, with a White median household income of \$75,292.<sup>18</sup> More Black residents of Hinds were poor (24 percent) compared to Whites in Rankin (7 percent). Local variations in the tax base highlight the existence of "economic segregation" among counties, resulting in inadequate resources for students in low-income areas, while ensuring that students in neighboring districts receive the necessary support for a high-quality education. In short, poorer, blacker areas can afford fewer services; among those services is public education.

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<sup>15</sup>Loewen, J. & Orey, B.D. (forthcoming 2024). *Mississippi Conflict and Change*. University Press of Mississippi.

<sup>16</sup> NBC News. (2023, June 2). *32 Mississippi school districts still under federal desegregation orders*. Retrieved from <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/federal-government-orders-desegregation-32-mississippi-school-district-rcna87296>.

<sup>17</sup> Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP (2016, Oct. 25), *Segregation and Wealth: An Unhealed Wound*. Retrieved from <http://naacpms.org/segregation-and-wealth-an-unhealed-wound/>.

<sup>18</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2022), *QuickFacts Rankin County, Mississippi; Madison County, Mississippi; Hinds County, Mississippi; Mississippi*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/rankincountymississippi,madisoncountymississippi,hindscountymississippi,MS/PST045222>.

Measuring academic achievement offers another way to quantify disparities in education. In Mississippi, approximately 89 percent of schools that received failing grades belonged to districts where 90 percent or more of the student population was Black.<sup>19</sup>

Segregation can have a significant impact on test scores, particularly in the context of education disparities among different racial groups. As highlighted in Table 6, for example, Black students consistently lag behind all other racial groups in state Math scores. During the 2021-2022 school year, the state set a target goal of 70 percent proficiency in Math for students. However, as set forth in Table 6, the test scores for Black students fell significantly below this target, with mean scores of 31 percent. These scores were the lowest of all groups. These figures raise concerns about the inequities and challenges faced by Black students in accessing quality education and the potential consequences of racial segregation on their academic achievements.

**Table 6. State Test Scores by Race and Ethnicity**

Race and Ethnicity	Test Scores	
	Math	Reading
Asian	80.00%	68.00%
Black or African American	31.00%	28.00%
White	63.00%	57.00%
Alaskan Native or Native American	52.00%	41.00%
Hispanic or Latino	48.00%	38.00%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	68.00%	51.00%
Two or More Races	54.00%	49.00%
<i>Source: Mississippi Department of Education</i>		

<sup>19</sup>I used two websites maintained by the Mississippi Department of Education to construct the data discussed here and in the next paragraph and Table 6. *See* Mississippi Department of Education, (2023). *Data Downloads*. <https://newreports.mdek12.org/DataDownload>, accessed July 20, 2023 and Mississippi Department of Education, (2023). *MSRC Search and Compare*. <https://msrc.mdek12.org/advancedsearch?SchoolYear=2021>, accessed July 20, 2023.

Similarly, when examining the results of the English proficiency test, it becomes evident that Black students scored in the lowest percentile compared to all other demographic groups. Table 6 illustrates that their scores lagged behind all other groups with an average score of 28 percent. These scores signify significant disparities in language and communication skills, raising concerns about the quality of education and the challenges faced by Black students.

Table 7 presents my calculations of the bivariate correlation statistics between test scores and the percentage of Black enrollment in school districts.<sup>20</sup> I used the “correl” command in Microsoft Excel to perform the calculations. The data reveals a strong negative relationship between the two variables, indicating that as the percentage of Black students increases in a district, there is a corresponding decrease in test scores. Conversely, in districts where the majority of students are White, the relationship is the opposite. As the percentage of White students’ increases, test scores also tend to increase. This suggests that the racial composition of the district plays a significant role in shaping the performance outcomes of students on standardized tests.

**Table 7. Bivariate Correlations – Student Enrollment by Race and Math Proficiency**

Race	Data
Blacks	-.76
Whites	.72
<i>Source: Mississippi Department of Education</i>	

The implications of these disparities are far-reaching and multi-faceted. Segregation in education could possibly lead to resource disparities, wherein schools with predominantly Black student populations may receive fewer funding and educational opportunities compared to their white counterparts. Indeed, the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* court case framed segregation as the root of education inequality.<sup>21</sup> Insufficient resources can impact the quality of teaching, availability of

<sup>20</sup> The underlying data were pulled from the following website: Mississippi Department of Education, (2023). *2022 Accountability*.  
<https://www.mdek12.org/OPR/Reporting/Accountability/2022>, accessed July 20,2023

<sup>21</sup> Black, D.W. & Crolley, A. (2022, Apr. 19). *Legacy of Jim Crow still affects funding for public schools*, University of South Carolina. Retrieved from  
<https://sc.edu/uofsc/posts/2022/04/conversation-jim-crow.php#:~:text=The%20Brown%20v.,predominantly%20poor%20and%20minority%20schools.>

extracurricular activities, access to advanced placement courses, and availability of support services, all of which can directly influence academic performance.

Moreover, the psychological effects of segregation on Black students should not be underestimated. The experience of attending an under-resourced school with limited diversity can lead to feelings of marginalization, low self-esteem, and diminished confidence in academic abilities.<sup>22</sup> This can create a cycle of underperformance and reduced motivation to excel in academics.

Notably, this inequality in education is the result of chronic underfunding over the course of centuries. According to one investigative report, Mississippi public schools have been underfunded by \$2.3 billion since 2008, and the state has spent tens of billions of dollars less on educating Black students than White students since 1890.<sup>23</sup>

### **The Digital Divide and Political Participation**

The impact of broadband internet on political participation has been profound and transformative.<sup>24</sup> Broadband internet access has opened up new avenues for civic engagement, political awareness, and community mobilization, empowering individuals to become more active and influential in the political process.<sup>25</sup> Broadband internet has influenced politics in general. It has disproportionately impacted Blacks, as Blacks were less likely to have internet access than were Whites. Black political participation can be impacted in a number of ways.

First, broadband internet has democratized access to information, providing Black communities with greater access to news, political updates, and policy discussions.

Second, social media and other online platforms have become powerful tools for activism and advocacy within the Black community.

Third, broadband internet has facilitated voter registration efforts and mobilization campaigns, making it easier for Black individuals to register to vote, check their voter status, and find polling

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<sup>22</sup> Hargrove, S. & Williams, D. (2014, Sept.). *Psychology's contribution to the development of the 1964 Civil Rights Act*. American Psychological Association. Retrieved from <https://www.apa.org/pi/oema/resources/communique/2014/08-09/civil-rights-act>.

<sup>23</sup> Mitchell, J. (2018, Feb. 22). *Separate and unequal: For centuries, Mississippi has left its public schools in the hole*. Clarion Ledger. Retrieved from <https://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/politics/2019/02/22/public-education-ms-underfunded-centuries-brown-v-board-of-education-segregation-school-funding/2910282002/>.

<sup>24</sup> Whitacre, B.E. & Manlove, J.L. (2016) Broadband and civic engagement in rural areas: What matters?. *Community Development*, 47:5, 700-717, DOI: 10.1080/15575330.2016.1212910.

<sup>25</sup> Quintelier, E., & Vissers, S. (2008). The Effect of Internet Use on Political Participation: An Analysis of Survey Results for 16-Year-Olds in Belgium. *Social Science Computer Review*, 26(4), 411–427. <https://dl.acm.org/doi/10.1177/0894439307312631>; Tolbert, C. J., & McNeal, R. S. (2003). Unraveling the Effects of the Internet on Political Participation? *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(2), 175–185. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3219896>.

locations. Online voter registration systems have streamlined the process and expanded voter participation.

Fourth, the internet provides Black voters with access to online voting guides, sample ballots, and candidate information, making it easier to research candidates' positions and make informed voting decisions.

In sum, while internet access can greatly reduce the costs of voting, the digital divide remains a challenge for some Black communities. Not all Black individuals have equal access to broadband internet, which can exacerbate existing disparities in political participation. Bridging the digital divide and ensuring equitable access to broadband internet is crucial to fully harness its potential for Black political empowerment.

Table 8 provides data specific to Mississippi, highlighting the disparity in broadband subscriptions between Whites and Blacks in the state. According to the statistics, approximately 85 percent of White individuals in Mississippi have broadband subscriptions, indicating relatively higher access to high-speed internet services. However, the data also reveals that only about 77 percent of Black individuals in Mississippi have broadband subscriptions, showing a gap in access to this essential service.

**Table 8. Broadband Internet**<sup>26</sup>

Race	Household Broadband Subscription Rate
Blacks	77%
Whites	84.5%
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i>	

This difference in broadband subscription rates implies that approximately 23 percent of Black residents in Mississippi do not have access to high-speed internet, limiting their opportunities for political engagement, online education, remote work, telehealth services, and other vital aspects of daily life that increasingly rely on internet connectivity. The digital divide, as reflected in the discrepancy between White and Black broadband access, can exacerbate existing inequalities and hinder the socio-economic progress and educational prospects of Black communities in the state.

<sup>26</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2021). *S0201: Selected Population Profile in the United States*. Retrieved from <https://data.census.gov/table?q=Telephone,+Computer,+and+Internet+Access+whites+alone&t=005&g=040XX00US28&tid=ACSSPP1Y2021.S0201&moe=false>.

Moreover, when examining the four congressional districts in Mississippi, research reveals that 27 percent of the zip codes in the overwhelmingly Black district 2 did not have internet access.<sup>27</sup>

### **Lack of Vehicles and Voting**

The lack of access to a vehicle can have significant implications for individuals when it comes to voting.<sup>28</sup> Voting is a fundamental right and a cornerstone of democracy, but barriers to transportation can create obstacles for many Black voters, particularly those living in low-income or marginalized communities. Here are some of the key implications of not having a vehicle for Black individuals and voting:

First, with respect to voter Suppression, the lack of a vehicle can be seen as a form of voter suppression. As is seen in Table 9, Blacks are twice as likely to not own a vehicle when compared to Whites. Voter suppression refers to intentional efforts to prevent certain groups of people, including racial minorities, from voting. By creating barriers to transportation, some individuals may find it difficult or impossible to reach polling places, effectively disenfranchising them.

Second, it results in limited access to polling locations: In many areas, polling places may be located far from residential areas, making it challenging for those without vehicles to access them. This can be particularly problematic in rural or suburban areas with limited public transportation options.

Third, it increases difficulty in absentee voting: For individuals without a vehicle, absentee voting (voting by mail) may seem like a viable option. However, even accessing postal services or drop-off locations for ballots may be challenging for those living in transportation deserts.

As shown in Table 9, Black households are twice as likely as White households to lack vehicle ownership. This disparity in vehicle ownership can pose significant challenges for accessing polling stations and participating in the voting process. Limited access to reliable transportation options may discourage/limit some individuals from casting their ballots, potentially leading to disparities in voter turnout along racial lines. Addressing this issue is essential for fostering a more inclusive and accessible democratic process for all citizens.

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<sup>27</sup> Center for Social Inclusion & Mississippi State Conference for the NAACP (2010, Feb.). *Broadband in the Mississippi Delta: A 21st Century Racial Justice Issue*. Retrieved from [https://www.raceforward.org/system/files/pdf/reports/2010/Broadband\\_in\\_the\\_Delta\\_-\\_FINAL1-1.pdf](https://www.raceforward.org/system/files/pdf/reports/2010/Broadband_in_the_Delta_-_FINAL1-1.pdf).

<sup>28</sup> De Benedictis-Kessner, J., & Palmer, M. 2023. "Driving turnout: The effect of car ownership on electoral participation." *Political Science Research and Methods* 11(3) pp 654-662.

Mattila, M., Soderlund P., Wass, H. and Rapeli, L. 2013. "Healthy Voting: The Effect of Self-Reported Health on Turnout in Thirty Counties." *Electoral Studies* 32(4) pp 885-91.

**Table 9. No Vehicle**

Race	Data
Blacks	10.0%
Whites	4.2%
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i> <sup>29</sup>	

**Health and Political Participation**

Health conditions significantly influence an individual's level of political participation, with both direct and indirect effects on their engagement in the political process. Studies increasingly point to health as one of the primary causes of inequality in participation.<sup>30</sup>

The relationship between health and political engagement is complex, with several key factors playing a role in understanding this connection. Firstly, the physical and mental well-being of individuals directly impact their ability to engage in political activities.<sup>31</sup> Severe health issues, chronic illnesses, or disabilities may limit a person's mobility, making it challenging for them to participate in traditional forms of political engagement, such as attending rallies, protests, or community meetings. Additionally, health conditions may result in fatigue, pain, or cognitive difficulties, reducing a person's capacity to actively participate in political discussions or debates.

Moreover, health conditions can indirectly affect political participation through their influence on socioeconomic status. People facing health challenges may incur high medical expenses, leading to financial strain and reduced access to resources. This economic burden could deter them from devoting time and energy to political activities as they prioritize meeting basic needs and obtaining necessary healthcare.

Mississippi ranks last, or near the bottom in the country, in almost every leading health indicator. According to a 2015 report released by the Mississippi State Department of Health, Blacks exhibited

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<sup>29</sup>U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 ACS 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles, retrieved from <https://data.census.gov/table?q=Telephone,+Computer,+and+Internet+Access+whites+alone&t=005&g=040XX00US28&tid=ACSSPP1Y2021.S0201>

<sup>30</sup> Mattila, M., Soderlund P., Wass, H. and Rapeli, L. 2013. "Healthy Voting: The Effect of Self-Reported Health on Turnout in Thirty Counties." *Electoral Studies* 32(4) pp 885-91; Gollut, S.E. and Rahn, W. 2015. "The Bodies Politics: Chronic Health Conditions and Voter Turnout in the 2008 Elections." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 40(6) pp 1115-55; Pacheco, J. and Fletcher, J. 2015. "Incorporating Health into Studies of Political Behavior Evidence for Turnout and Partisanship." *Political Research Quarterly* 68, (1)104-16.

<sup>31</sup> Ojeda, C. and Slaughter, C. 2019. "Intersectionality, Depression and Voter Turnout." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*. 44(3) pp 479-503.

the highest mortality rates for various health conditions, including hypertension, stroke, diabetes, renal disease, HIV/AIDS, cancer, and homicide.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, they had the highest infant mortality rate. This population also had a higher prevalence of several health issues, such as coronary heart disease, hypertension, obesity, diabetes, current childhood asthma, HIV, and permanent teeth extractions. Furthermore, the Black population in Mississippi experienced the highest rates of HIV/AIDS incidence and invasive cancer incidence.

Many of Mississippians poor health outcomes are a function of social determinants of health. The World Health defines social determinants as “the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age. These circumstances are shaped by the distribution of money, power and resources at global, national and local levels.”<sup>33</sup>

Black individuals face significant challenges in accessing adequate health insurance compared to other racial groups. This issue is deeply intertwined with a complex web of socioeconomic and systemic factors that contribute to unequal opportunities and resources within the Black community, particularly in the realm of healthcare.

Table 10 highlights the stark reality that Black Mississippians are far less likely to afford private health insurance. These disparities are not mere coincidence but are reflective of historical and ongoing inequities that have hindered Black individuals’ access to essential resources, including quality healthcare.

**Table 10. Insurance-Private Coverage in Mississippi**

Race	Data
Blacks	48%
Whites	68%
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i> <sup>34</sup>	

<sup>32</sup> Mississippi State Department of Health, 2015. *State of the State: Annual Mississippi Health Disparities and Inequalities Report*. Retrieved from [https://msdh.ms.gov/msdhsite/\\_static/resources/6414.pdf](https://msdh.ms.gov/msdhsite/_static/resources/6414.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> World Health Organization, 2013. *Social Determinants of Health*. Retrieved from [http://www.who.int/social\\_determinants/en/](http://www.who.int/social_determinants/en/)

<sup>34</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 ACS 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles, retrieved from <https://data.census.gov/table?q=Telephone,+Computer,+and+Internet+Access+whites+alone&t=005&g=040XX00US28&tid=ACSSPP1Y2021.S0201>.

Table 11 reveals that Black Mississippians heavily rely on public insurance programs to meet their healthcare needs, while Whites tend to have a more varied array of insurance choices available to them.

**Table 11. Insurance-Public Coverage in Mississippi**

Race	Data
Blacks	47.9%
Whites	36%
<i>Source: 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles</i> <sup>35</sup>	

For Black individuals in Mississippi, private insurance options may be less affordable, leading them to turn to publicly funded programs like Medicaid to access essential medical services. While Medicaid is a vital safety net for low-income individuals, its coverage can sometimes be limited and may not encompass all medical needs comprehensively.

The reliance on public insurance among Black individuals also highlights systemic issues within the healthcare system, emphasizing the necessity for expanded and accessible public health programs, such as Medicaid, to bridge the gap in insurance coverage for those unable to afford private plans. However, this dependence on public insurance can lead to limited choices and potentially restricted access to certain healthcare providers and services. Table 12 further illustrates this disparity, showing that Blacks are more than twice as likely to receive Medicaid assistance when compared to their White counterparts.

**Table 12. Medicaid Recipients**<sup>36</sup>

Race	Data
Blacks	36%
Whites	17%

<sup>35</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 ACS 1-Year Estimates Selected Population Profiles, retrieved from <https://data.census.gov/table?q=Telephone,+Computer,+and+Internet+Access+whites+alone&t=005&g=040XX00US28&tid=ACSSPP1Y2021.S0201>.

<sup>36</sup> <https://data.census.gov/mdat/#/search?ds=ACSPUMS1Y2022&cv=RACBLK,HINS4&rv=ucgid&wt=PWGTP&g=0400000US28>;  
<https://data.census.gov/mdat/#/search?ds=ACSPUMS1Y2022&cv=RACWHT,HINS4&rv=ucgid&wt=PWGTP&g=0400000US28>

*Source: 2021 American Community Survey -Year Estimates Public Use Microdata Sample*

The disparities in health outcomes may stem from or be exacerbated by disinvestment in health infrastructure in predominantly Black areas.

For example, the Affordable Care Act (ACA) expanded Medicaid eligibility in many states, enabling more low-income adults to access coverage. However, a minority of states, including Mississippi, chose not to expand Medicaid, exacerbating in disparities in eligibility and coverage.

The expansion of Medicaid would provide thousands of low-income Mississippians with access to tax credits through the ACA marketplace. However, without these tax credits, the health insurance plans available on the state's marketplace remain prohibitively expensive for those caught in the "coverage gap." Consequently, existing health disparities are exacerbated.

A report by State Economist Corey Miller indicates that Medicaid expansion would be self-sustaining, as the federal government would cover 90 percent of the costs, leaving states responsible for only 10 percent.<sup>37</sup> Estimates show that the state could receive an additional \$44 million in annual revenues as a result of the expansion, with the majority of this increase coming from individual income tax revenues. Additionally, Miller estimates that the state's real GDP could increase by between \$719 million and \$783 million each year from 2022 to 2027. He also estimates that personal income in Mississippi could increase by between \$539 million and \$812 million annually as a result of Medicaid expansion.

Additional resources to support healthcare and healthcare infrastructure could have a significant impact on Black Mississippians in light of the health disparities discussed above. That is especially true in areas like the predominantly Black Mississippi Delta, where local officials have suggested that Medicaid expansion could make the difference in saving regional hospitals that are on the brink of closure.<sup>38</sup>

The City of Jackson's water crisis also exemplifies disinvestment in health infrastructure in the State's predominantly Black capital city.<sup>39</sup> Over the span of 2021-2023, the city received more than 300 notices requiring residents to boil water before use due to contamination concerns.<sup>40</sup> This

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<sup>37</sup> Miller, J. Corey and Collins, Sandra. (2021). A Fiscal and Economic Analysis of Medicaid Expansion in Mississippi Under the Affordable Care Act. University Research Center, Mississippi Institutions of Higher Learning. Retrieved from <http://www.mississippi.edu/urc/downloads/urcmedicaid2021.pdf>

<sup>38</sup> LaFraniere, Susan, *We're Going Away: A State's Choice to Forgo Medicaid Funds Is Killing Hospitals*, N.Y. Times, (Mar. 28, 2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/28/us/politics/mississippi-medicaid-hospitals.html>

<sup>39</sup> Shah, Areeba, *"There are no white people there": Jackson's water crisis, explained*, Salon, (Sept. 2, 2022), <https://www.salon.com/2022/09/02/there-are-no-people-there-jacksons-water-crisis-explained/>

<sup>40</sup> Scott, Rachel and Stewart, Briana, *'Through the Cracks': Inside the fight to fix Jackson's water crisis*, ABC News, (Feb. 6, 2023), <https://abcnews.go.com/US/cracks-inside-fight-fix-jacksons-water-crisis/story?id=96922793>

recurring issue has left residents without reliable access to clean water for extended periods, ranging from days to even weeks at a time. Additionally, the city's sewer system is in dire need of repair and has been handed over to third-party interim engineer-manager Ted Henifin.<sup>41</sup> The overwhelming scale of the necessary repairs requires a significant investment, amounting to billions of dollars to completely overhaul the infrastructure.<sup>42</sup>

### **Felony Disenfranchisement and Political Participation**

Felony disenfranchisement laws can disproportionately impede voting for Black individuals due to historical and systemic factors that have led to higher rates of incarceration within the Black community.<sup>43</sup> These laws have been found to be most severe in Southern states, with Mississippi serving as one of the strictest states.<sup>44</sup> There are several conventional reasons why felon disenfranchisement affects Black voters more significantly, including Black Americans' overrepresentation in the criminal justice system compared to their proportion in the general population.<sup>45</sup> This overrepresentation is a result of various factors, including biased policing practices, racial profiling, and socioeconomic disparities. As a consequence, a higher percentage of Black individuals end up with felony convictions, leading to a greater number of them being disenfranchised.

The severity of a State's felony disenfranchisement also has an impact. Mississippi permanently bars individuals with certain from voting even after serving their sentences. This has a significant impact on Black communities where higher rates of felony convictions can lead to long-lasting disenfranchisement. In addition, felony disenfranchisement may contribute to a cycle of marginalization and exclusion for individuals who have already served their sentences. When people are unable to fully reintegrate into society, they face barriers to employment, housing, and civic engagement. This, in turn, can contribute to higher rates of recidivism and further disenfranchisement of Black individuals.

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<sup>41</sup> Leggate, James, *Jackson, Miss., Sewers Added to Special Manager's Mission*, ENRTexas&Louisiana, (July 31, 2023), <https://www.enr.com/articles/56867-jackson-miss-sewers-added-to-special-managers-mission>

<sup>42</sup> Harris, Bracey and Silva, Daniella, *Jackson's water system may need billions in repairs. Federal infrastructure funds aren't a quick fix*, NBC News, (Sept. 2, 2022), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/jackson-mississippi-water-crisis-infrastructure-funding-rcna45444>

<sup>43</sup> Malberg, Alice. (2020). *Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy*. American Political Science Association Raise the Vote Campaign. Retrieved from <https://connect.apsanet.org/raisethevote/2020/09/08/felon-disenfranchisement-and-american-democracy/>

<sup>44</sup> Brown-Dean, K. L. (2004). *One lens, multiple views: felon disenfranchisement laws and American political inequality* [Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University]. OhioLINK Electronic Theses and Dissertations Center. [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=osu1054744924](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=osu1054744924)

<sup>45</sup> Burch, T. (2013). *Trading Democracy for Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Felony disenfranchisement laws have a disproportionate effect on minority communities, particularly Black Americans.<sup>46</sup> According to a 2009 study, in states with lifetime bans on voting for individuals with past convictions, Black voters are 12 percent less likely to vote, while White voters are only one percent less likely to do so.<sup>47</sup> Additionally, The Sentencing Project discovered that out of the 6.1 million disenfranchised Americans, over three-quarters of them are not currently incarcerated but have completed their sentences successfully.<sup>48</sup>

According to a 2018 report by the Sentencing Project in collaboration with One Voice and the NAACP, 9.63 percent of citizens in Mississippi are disenfranchised due to a felony conviction.<sup>49</sup> Among this number, 127,130 were Black citizens, accounting for nearly 16 percent of the Black electorate in 2016.

Restoring the right to vote in Mississippi is a challenging endeavor. Formerly incarcerated residents can pursue the restoration of their voting rights by requesting their state representative or state senator to introduce a “suffrage” bill on their behalf. Similar to any other bill, this proposed legislation must go through the process of being passed into law. Data reveal that formerly incarcerated individuals who have sought to regain their rights to vote have, on average, been unsuccessful.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, the data in Table 13 denotes that between 2006 and 2023, there were 254 bills introduced on behalf of formerly incarcerated individuals and only about one-third passed.

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<sup>46</sup> Burch, T. (2013). Disenfranchising the Enfranchised: Exploring the Relationship between Felony Disenfranchisement and African American Voter Turnout. *Journal of Black Studies*, 44(8), 799–821. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26174229>

<sup>47</sup> Bowers, M. and Preuhs, R.R. 2009. “Collateral Consequences of a Collateral Penalty: The Negative Effect of Felon Disenfranchisement Laws on the Political Participation of Nonfelons.” 90(3) pp 722-743.

<sup>48</sup> Uggen, C., Larson, R., & Shannon, S. (2016). 6 Million Lost Voters: State-Level Estimates of Felony Disenfranchisement, 2016. The Sentencing Project. Retrieved from <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/6-Million-Lost-Voters.pdf>

<sup>49</sup> The Sentencing Project, 2018. *Felony Disenfranchisement in Mississippi*. Retrieved from <https://www.sentencingproject.org/app/uploads/2022/08/Felony-Disenfranchisement-in-Mississippi.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> The data were retrieved from the Mississippi state legislature’s webpage: <http://www.legislature.ms.gov/legislation/all-measures>.

**Table 13. Suffrage Bills Introduced and Passed in Both Houses**

Years	Introduced	Failed	Total
2006	6	10	16
2007	10	17	27
2008	5	21	26
2009	0	19	19
2010	7	1	8
2011	7	4	11
2012	0	10	10
2013	1	7	8
2014	3	0	3
2015	4	1	5
2016	0	2	2
2017	7	1	8
2018	4	5	9
2019	16	5	21
2020	6	10	16
2021	2	31	33
2022	5	15	20
2023	0	12	12
Total	83	171	254

### Racial Disparities in Voter Turnout

Estimating turnout data can be problematic due to the issue of over-reporting.<sup>51</sup> When individuals are asked about their voting behavior, they may feel societal pressure to present themselves as more engaged citizens than they actually are, leading to over-reporting of voter turnout.

This phenomenon can be influenced by several factors. First, there is a social desirability bias, where individuals tend to respond in a way that aligns with societal norms or expectations. Voting is often seen as a civic duty and a symbol of good citizenship, so some people may exaggerate their participation to avoid appearing apathetic or disengaged.<sup>52</sup>

Second, memory recall can be unreliable.<sup>53</sup> People may genuinely believe they voted when, in fact, they did not, or they might confuse one election with another. Over time, memories of voting may become distorted, leading to inaccurate self-reports of turnout.

Third, some individuals might over-report voting to present themselves in a positive light to the interviewer or researcher. This could be particularly true in cases where voting is linked to certain social or economic benefits or where the respondents believe their answers could impact their status or standing within their community.

To address these issues and improve the accuracy of voter turnout estimates, researchers often use more objective measures, such as official voter registration records or verified turnout data from election authorities. These sources provide more reliable information on actual voter participation, avoiding the potential biases that come with purely self-reported data.

Overall, while over-reporting is a concern when estimating voter turnout, employing multiple data sources and methodologies can help ensure a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of voting behavior in a given population. In this analysis, turnout rates are estimated using ecological inference, individual-level data from the Mississippi voter file, and data from the national Cooperative Election Study.

### Data and Method

I used several methods to estimate turnout by race in Mississippi.

First, I used a method called “ecological inference.” Ecological inference is a way of studying and understanding patterns in groups of people, like communities or neighborhoods, to learn about

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<sup>51</sup> McAllister, I., Quinlan, S. Vote over-reporting in national election surveys: a 55-nation exploratory study. *Acta Polit* 57, 529–547 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41269-021-00207-6>. Indeed, one recent study found that over-reporting of voting on unverified surveys was not race-neutral, such that surveys tended to overestimate Black turnout in particular. See Ansolabehere, Fraga, and Schaffner, *The Current Population Survey Voting and Registration Supplement Overstates Minority Turnout* <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/717260> “

<sup>52</sup> Belli, R. F., Traugott, M. W., Young, M., & McGonagle, K. A. (1999). Reducing Vote Overreporting in Surveys: Social Desirability, Memory Failure, and Source Monitoring. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 63(1), 90–108. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2991270>

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

individuals within those groups. Instead of looking at each person individually, it looks at the bigger picture and tries to draw conclusions about individuals based on the characteristics of the entire group they belong to. In this report, I use the Ecological Inference (EI) method developed by Professor Gary King of Harvard University.<sup>54</sup>

Imagine you have information about the number of people who voted in different neighborhoods but do not know how each person voted. Ecological inference would analyze the voting patterns in those neighborhoods and make educated guesses about how the individuals in each neighborhood may have voted based on the overall trends. It is like putting together puzzle pieces to get an idea of what the whole picture might look like, even though you cannot see each piece clearly.

Ecological inference is helpful when it is difficult or impractical to collect information from each person individually. By studying groups as a whole, one can still gain valuable and accurate insights and make important decisions based on the bigger patterns they observe.

To analyze voting patterns by race using ecological inference on aggregate level information, a database that combines election results with demographic information is required. This database is almost always constructed using election precincts as the unit of analysis. The demographic composition of the precincts is based on voter registration or turnout by race/ethnicity if this information is available; if it is not, then voting age population is used. Here, Mississippi does not collect voter registration data by race and therefore voting age population (VAP) by race and ethnicity as reported in the PL 94-171 U.S. Census redistricting data was used for ascertaining the demographic composition of the precincts.

To estimate voter turnout by race I used VAP by race data from the 2020 Census in concert with election return data gathered from the Mississippi Secretary of State's office. These data were joined

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<sup>54</sup> See Gary King, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data* (Princeton University Press, 1997). This procedure is superior to the methodologies relied upon in the *Gingles* case itself, which were homogeneous precinct analysis and ecological regression analyses. Homogenous Precinct Analyses simply report the percentage of the votes received by a candidate or set of candidates within the precincts in which a particular group, Blacks or Whites, constitutes over 90 percent of the people receiving ballots. Voters in such precincts might not vote in a similar way to that of voters residing in mixed precincts, however. Ecological Regression (ER) derives estimates, based on all of the precincts, through a linear model premised on the notion that the percentages of Blacks that vote for a particular candidate or candidates are the same in every precinct, and likewise that the percentages of Whites that vote for a candidate or set of candidates are the same in every precinct. EI also takes into account every precinct, but does not rely on an assumption of linearity. Instead, it employs a "maximum likelihood" model for deriving estimates. The EI procedure further incorporates the method of bounds in the analysis, which precludes group estimates from exceeding real-world limits, for example preventing a group's estimated support for a candidate or group of candidates from being above 100.0 percent or below 0.0 percent, as can happen with ER. EI, which can also be used for other purposes, is now used widely in racially polarized voting analyses.

in an excel spreadsheet. I conducted my analysis using the ei software package,<sup>55</sup> running on the statistical programming language R, version 3.6.3.

In addition to ecological inference, I also employed Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding (BISG) to estimate participation by race using data directly from the state's voter file.

BISG is a method used to predict a person's race or ethnicity by looking at their last name and where they live on a map. It works by using a mathematical rule called Bayes' Rule. First, it estimates the chances of a person belonging to a particular racial group based on their last name (e.g., Smith, Johnson). Then, it combines that information with the likelihood of someone from that racial group living in a specific area (e.g., neighborhood or city). By using this method, BISG can figure out a person's unobserved race or ethnicity.<sup>56</sup>

The BISG dataset was constructed as follows: A snapshot of the Mississippi voter file from June 2022 was taken. In order to infer individuals' voter turnout in the 2020 general election, the data was restricted to citizens who registered to vote at least 30 days prior to the 2020 general election date. Next, each individual's residence address as listed in the voter file was geocoded, and each record was placed into a Census block based on this geocoding. The relevant Census-block-level demographic data from the 2020 Census was then appended. The wru package, also run in the R programming language, was used to execute the BISG procedure and infer individuals' race.<sup>57</sup> Each individual was assigned the race that the BISG procedure predicted to be most likely. Finally, the data was aggregated up to the Census tract level to produce separate tract-level turnout estimates of Black and White turnout. For this voter-file based analysis, I calculated aggregate turnout using the proportion of registered voters who voted in the 2020 general election. Because the denominator in this analysis is registered voters (rather than all eligible adults), the results do not incorporate racial disparities in voter registration that may further disadvantage Black Mississippians.

With the BISG estimates merged with the voter file, I was able to directly estimate participation by race among registered voters based on the voter history information contained in the voter file.

Finally, I also examined turnout by race estimates using the Cooperative Election Study (CES), a 50,000+ person national stratified sample survey administered by YouGov.<sup>58</sup> To estimate turnout

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<sup>55</sup> The Comprehensive R Archive Network, *eiCompare: Compares Different Ecological Inference Methods*, <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/eiCompare/index.html>

<sup>56</sup> Elliott, M. N., Morrison, P. A., Fremont, A., McCaffrey, D. F., Pantoja, P., & Lurie, N. (2009). Using the Census Bureau's surname list to improve estimates of race/ethnicity and associated disparities. *Health Services and Outcomes Research Methodology*, 9(2), 69-83; Elliott, M. N., Fremont, A., Morrison, P. A., Pantoja, P., & Lurie, N. (2008). A new method for estimating race/ethnicity and associated disparities where administrative records lack self-reported race/ethnicity. *Health Services Research*, 43(5p1), 1722-1736.

<sup>57</sup> Imai, K. and Khanna, K. (2016). Improving Ecological Inference by Predicting Individual Ethnicity from Voter Registration Records, *Political Analysis* <doi:10.1093/pan/mpw001>

<sup>58</sup> Schaffner, B., Ansolabehere, S., Luks, S. (2021). Cooperative Election Study Common Content, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/E9N6PH>, Harvard Dataverse, V4, UNF:6:zWLoanzs2F3awt+875kWBg== [fileUNF]

from the CES data, I counted individuals whom YouGov validated as 2020 general election voters according to the state voter files.

#### *Results*

Based on the results obtained from the ecological inference model, we can interpret the voter turnout rates for Black and White populations. According to Table 14, 56 percent of Blacks turned out in the 2020 presidential election, while almost 66 percent of Whites did so.

The confidence intervals for Black voter turnout range from 55.24 percent to 57.03 percent, while for White voter turnout, the confidence intervals range from 65.38 percent to 66.5 percent. This means that we are reasonably confident that the true voter turnout rates for both groups lie within these ranges.

**Table 14. Ecological Inference Estimates of Turnout by Race 2020**

	EI Estimate	CI 95%
Blacks	56.03%	55.24-57.03
Whites	65.84%	65.38-66.5

Using BISG to estimates turnout directly from the Mississippi voter file data shows a similar disparity. As set forth in Table 15, the average turnout for Blacks in the 2020 election was estimated to be 57.3 percent of registered Black voters, compared to 69.7 percent for registered Whites.

**Table 15. Voter File BISG Percent Turnout by Race 2020**

% Black Turnout	57.3%
% White Turnout	69.7%

The results in Table 16, based on the CES data, are similar as well. According to these findings, roughly 72.5 percent of Blacks who were registered turned out in the 2020 election (46.1 percent among all Black voting age Mississippians), compared to 86.8 percent of Whites (59.6 percent among all White voting age Mississippians).

**Table 16. Percent Turnout by Race 2020<sup>59</sup>**

	Turnout	Observations
Blacks	72.5%	158
Whites	86.8%	283

Based on all three data sets, the turnout for Blacks in 2020 is estimated at between 46 percent and 57 percent (between 57 percent and 72 percent among registered voters) and for Whites, between 60 percent and 66 percent (between 70 percent and 87 percent among registered voters). With three different methods, we can be fairly confident that there is an approximately 10-point gap in voter turnout. Moreover, the BISG estimates of turnout by race, which are aggregated up to the County level in Appendix 2, show that this gap is fairly consistent across the state, including in the areas of focus in this lawsuit.

### **Factors Influencing Racial Disparities in Voter Turnout**

Above, I have presented various racial disparities that have been found to be associated with political participation. Here, I determine if there is a statistically significant relationship between these markers and voter turnout among Blacks.

#### *Data and Methods*

Regression analysis is a mathematical means of testing the relationship between different variables to determine the importance or influence of one or more variables. The method used to analyze the data here is called Ordinary Least Squares regression. To conduct the analysis, a dependent variable and a number of independent variables are identified. The regression allows for an assessment of the impact and significance of the various independent variables on the dependent variable.

Here, the *dependent variable* is the voter turnout by race, i.e., turnout among Black registered voters. It is operationalized based on data derived from the voter file in Mississippi combined with race data based on the BISG methodology, as discussed above. The *independent variables* include: the proportion of Blacks receiving food stamps, the proportion of uninsured Blacks, the proportion of Blacks living in poverty, the proportion of Blacks with college degrees, some college and high school diplomas. Data were also collected for the proportion of Blacks with less than a high school degree. This variable was not included in the regression model, but rather served as the baseline for comparison. Each of the education variables were compared to Blacks with less than a high school diploma. The unit of analysis is the Census tract level. The socioeconomic data for this analysis is drawn from the United States Census American Community Survey 2017-2021 5-year estimates for the Census tracts

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<sup>59</sup> The CES turnout estimate in Table 16 was derived using a registered voter weighting, and thus estimates turnout by race only among registered voters, similar to the BISG analysis. This CES estimate accordingly does not incorporate racial disparities in voter registration that may further disadvantage Black Mississippians. Applying the “commonweight” weighting to same CES dataset allows for an estimate of turnout by race among all adults (rather than only registered voters). Among all registered voters, the CES data shows validated 2020 voter turnout of 59.6% among White voters, and 46.1% among Black voters—a 13.5% gap.

in the state of Mississippi. The turnout data are tract-level aggregates of the BISG turnout estimates, drawn from the Mississippi voter file. STATA 17.0 was used to run the regression analysis.

### *Findings*

According to the regression results reported in Table 17, the model's F statistic yields a significance score of  $p < .001$ . This means that we can be roughly 99 percent confident that this model performs better than a model without any predictors. The coefficients for four of the seven variables in the model were statistically significant from zero. Based on the results, the proportion of Blacks who received food stamps and were uninsured was highly correlated with the proportion of Black voter turnout. A full unit increase in the proportion of Blacks who received food stamps i.e., from the lowest to the highest, resulted in an 18-point drop in Black voter turnout. Likewise, a one unit increase in the proportion of Blacks who were uninsured predicts a 7-point reduction in turnout. Additionally, the findings demonstrate that the tracts with more Blacks who received college degrees and high school diplomas also voted at higher rates. A full unit increase in the proportion of Black college graduates predicts an 11.5-point increase in voter turnout, while the same increase in the proportion with a high school degree predicts a 6-point increase in turnout. These results suggest that Black turnout suffers from disparities in education at multiple levels.

**Table 17. Black Turnout Linear Regression**

	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Black Poverty	-.019	.021	-0.91	.364	-.059	.022	
Black	-.003	.017	-0.15	.883	-.036	.031	
Broadband							
Black Food	-.182	.049	-3.68	.000	-.279	-.085	***
Stamps							
Black	-.076	.033	-2.26	.024	-.142	-.01	**
Uninsured							
Bachelor	.115	.037	3.13	.002	.043	.187	***
Degree							
Some College	.024	.029	0.82	.410	-.034	.082	
High School	.059	.029	2.01	.045	.001	.116	**
Diploma							
Constant	.593	.019	31.36	.000	.555	.63	***
Mean dependent var		0.591	SD dependent var			0.106	
R-squared		0.063	Number of obs			847	
F-test		8.055	Prob > F			0.000	

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

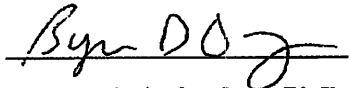
In sum, the model supported the existing literature related to voter turnout. Black Mississippians' lower socio-economic status is correlated with lower levels of voting. Whereas, those with more resources, such as education and insurance coverage, were better equipped to vote.

## V. CONCLUSION

The data is clear that Black Mississippians bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment and health, where serious disparities are observable across a host of metrics. These disparities hinder Black Mississippians' ability to fully participate in the political process.

I reserve the right to amend or supplement my report in light of additional facts, testimony and/or materials that may come to light. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct according to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Executed on November 14, 2023.

  
Dr. Byron D'Andra Orey, Ph.D.

## **Appendix 1. Curriculum Vitae**

### **B. D'Andra Orey, PhD Curriculum Vitae**

#### **Office:**

Department of Political Science  
Jackson State University  
1400 John R. Lynch St.  
Jackson, MS 39217  
(601) 979-2737  
byron.d.orey@jsums.edu

#### **Education**

**University of New Orleans**  
Ph. D., Political Science, 1999

**State University of New York at Stony Brook,**  
M.A., Political Science, 1993

**University of Mississippi, Oxford, MS**  
Master of Public Administration, August 1990

**Mississippi Valley State University, Itta Bena, MS**  
B.S., Business Administration, May 1988

#### **Continuing Education**

**International Workshop on Statistical Genetic Methods for Human Complex Traits.** March 3 –March 7, 2014. Boulder, Colorado

**International Workshop on Statistical Genetics and Methodology of Twin and Family Studies.** February 28-March 6, 2010. Boulder, Colorado  
-Received training in the area of structural equation modeling, using R and Mx using twin data

**Inter-University Consortium of Political and Social Research,** University of Michigan, 2006, Course: “Empirical Summer Program in Applied Multi-Ethnic Research”

**Institute for Professional Education,** Virginia Tech University, 1995. Linear and Nonlinear Regression with Applications

**Inter-University Consortium of Political and Social Research,** University of Michigan, 1993, Courses: Logit and Log-Linear Models; Regression

Analysis, Maximum Likelihood Estimation; and Structural Equations  
(Causal) Models

## **Professional Training**

**W. K. Kellogg Foundation Leadership Network Fellowship**, August 2019-  
August 2022, is designed to deepen the knowledge and skills for navigating  
today's challenges, authentically engaging communities and advancing racial  
equity and racial healing in communities.

**Duke University Community Census and Redistricting Institute**, August 2010.  
-Received training to prepare redistricting plans using Geographical Information  
Systems.

**Southern Regional Council**, Voting Rights Expert Witness Training.  
January-December 1994  
-Received training to prepare redistricting plans using Geographical Information  
Systems.

**Southern Regional Council**, Voting Rights Expert Witness Training.  
January-December 1993  
-Received training in the areas of ecological regression and homogenous case  
analysis. Mentors included: James Loewen, Ph.D. University of Vermont,  
Bernard Grofman, Ph.D. University of California Irvine and Alan Lichtman,  
Ph.D., The American University, Washington D.C.

## **Academic Positions**

**Jackson State University, Jackson, MS**  
Professor, Political Science (Fall 2008-Present)

**Jackson State University, Jackson, MS**  
Professor and Chair, Political Science (Fall 2008-2012)

**The University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE**  
Associate Professor, Political Science (Spring 2007-Spring 2008).

**The University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE**  
Assistant Professor, Political Science (Fall 2001-Spring 2007).

**University of Mississippi, Oxford, MS**  
Assistant Professor, Political Science and Afro American Studies (1999-2001).

**Professional Publications (Peer-Reviewed Articles)**

- “Racial Differences in Feelings of Distress during the COVID-19 Pandemic and John Henryism Active Coping in the United States: Results from a National Survey.” forthcoming. *Social Science Quarterly*. (Jas Sullivan, Samaah Sullivan, Byron D’Andra Orey and Najja Baptist).
- “Racial Identity and Emotional Responses to Confederate Symbols.” 2021. *Social Science Quarterly*. (Byron D’Andra Orey, Najja Baptist and Valeria Sinclair- Chapman).
- “Melanated Millennials and the Politics of Black Hair.” 2019. *Social Science Quarterly*. (Byron D’Andra Orey and Yu Zhang)
- “Race and Wellbeing in the US: The Psychological Toll of a Broken System.” 2019 **Byron D’Andra Orey** *Scientia*.
- “Implicit Black Identification and Stereotype Threat Among African American Students.” 2017. *Social Science Research*. (Thomas Cramer and **Byron D’Andra Orey**).
- “Mississippi and the Great White Switcheroo.” April 2016, *PS Political Science and Politics*. (**Byron D’Andra Orey** and Ernest Dupree)
- “The 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act and the Quiet Revolution.” 2015, *National Political Science Review* (**Byron D’Andra Orey**, Gloria Billingsly and Athena King).
- “Professional Conferences and the Challenges of Studying Black Politics.” April 2015, *PS Political Science and Politics* (Nikol Alexander-Floyd, **Byron D’Andra Orey** and Khalilah Brown-Dean)
- “Black Women State Legislators: Electoral Trend Data 1995-2011.” 2014 *National Political Science Review* 2014 (**Byron D’Andra Orey** and Nadia Brown) Volume 16: 143-149.
- “Black Opposition to Welfare in the Age of Obama” *Race, Gender, and Class*. 2013 (**Byron D’Andra Orey** Athena King, Shonda Lawrence and Brian E. Anderson)
- “Using Black Samples to Conduct Implicit Racial Attitudes Research” *PS: Political Science and Politics* (July 2013) (**Byron D’Andra Orey**, Thomas Craemer and Melanye Price)

- “Black Opposition to Progressive Racial Policies and the “Double (Non)Consciousness” Thesis. 2012 *Race & Policy* 8: 52-66. (**Byron D’Andra Orey**, Athena King, Leniece Titani-Smith)
- “Nature, Nurture, and Ethnocentrism in the Minnesota Twin Study” (**Byron D’Andra Orey** and Hyung Park). *Twin Research and Human Genetics. Volume 15, Number 1*. 2012
- “White Support for Racial Referenda in the South” *Politics & Policy* (**Byron D’Andra Orey**, Marvin Overby, Peter Hatemi and Baodong Liu). August 2011
- “The Politics of Race, Gender, Ethnicity and Representation in the Texas Legislature.” *Race & Policy* (Jessica L. Lavariega Monforti, **Byron D’Andra Orey** and Andrew Conroy) Spring/Summer 2009
- “Church Attendance, Social Capital, and Black Voting Participation.” *Social Science Quarterly* (Paul Liu, Sharon Austin and **Byron D’Andra Orey**) September 2009
- “Racial Threat Republicanism and the Rebel Flag: Trent Lott and the 2006 Mississippi Senate Race.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** *National Political Science Review*, Vol. 12, 2009
- “The Role of Race, Gender and Structure in State Policymaking.” *Race & Policy* (**Byron D’Andra Orey** and Chris Larimer) Spring/Summer 2008
- “The Politics of AIDS in the Black Community.” *Forum on Public Policy* (Oxford University) Summer 2007
- “African Americans in the State Legislative Power Structure: Committee Chairs.” **Byron D’Andra Orey**, Marvin Overby and Chris Larimer. *Social Science Quarterly*, September 2007
- “Accounting for “Racism: Responses to Political Predicaments in Two States.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** and Marvin Overby with Barbara J. Walkosz and Kimberly Walker. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, Fall 2007: 235-255
- “A Systematic Analysis of the Deracialization Concept.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** and Boris Ricks. *The National Political Science Review*. January 2007: 325-334
- “Deracialization or Racialization: The Making of a Black Mayor in Jackson, Mississippi” **Byron D’Andra Orey**, *Politics and Policy*. December 2006: 814-836
- “Race and Gender Matter: Refining Models of Legislative Policy Making in State Legislatures.” 2006. **Byron D’Andra Orey**, Wendy Smooth with Kimberly

Adams and Kish Harris-Clark. *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 28: 97-119

“Framing the Issue, When the Issue is Race.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** *International Journal of Africana Studies*. January 2005: 209-223

“Explaining Black Conservatives: Racial Uplift or Racial Resentment.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** *The Black Scholar*. 2004: 18-22.

“A Research Note on White Racial Attitudes and Support for the Mississippi State Flag.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** *American Politics Research*. January 2004: 102-116

“A New Racial Threat in the New South? (A Conditional) Yes!” **Byron D’Andra Orey** *American Review of Politics*, Summer 2001: 233-255

“Symbolic Racism in the 1995 Louisiana Gubernatorial Election,” Jonathan Knuckey and **Byron D’Andra Orey**. *Social Science Quarterly*, December 2000: 1027-1035

“Black Legislative Politics in Mississippi,” **Byron D’Andra Orey** *Journal of Black Studies*, July 2000.

“The Race Race in Black and White: An analysis of the 1995 Louisiana Gubernatorial Election,” **Byron D’Andra Orey** *Southeastern Political Review*, December 1998

**Books** Mississippi Conflict and Change (forthcoming) 2024. Contracted with the University of Mississippi Press. James Loewen, Charles Sallis and **Byron D’Andra Orey**).

#### **Professional Publications (Book Chapters)**

“Learning the Lessons of History” in Necessary Conversations: Understanding Racism as a Barrier to Achieving Health Equity. 2023. Alonzo L. Plough, editor. Oxford University Press. Madeline England, Cristy Johnston Limon, **Byron D’Andra Orey**, Jason Reece and Geoff K. Ward).

“The Liberal Arts Faculty and Writing Bootcamp” in Redefining Liberal Arts Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Edited by Robert Luckett. University of Mississippi Press. (Preselfanie McDaniels, **Byron D’Andra Orey** Rico Chapman and Monica Flippin-Wynn).

“The Evolution of Racial Attitudes from Martin Luther King to Barack Obama” in Assessing Public Policy and Contemporary Social Developments: Through the Prism of Dr. Martin Luther King’s Dream. Edited by Michael Clemmons.

University Press, 2017. (**Byron D’Andra Orey**, Lakeyta Bonnette and Athena King)

“Evolution and Devolution of the Voting Rights Act? Black Descriptive and Substantive Representation” In Minority Voting in the United States. August 2015. Editors: Kyle Kreider and Thomas Balidino (Praeger). **Byron D’Andra Orey, Gloria Billingsly and Athena King**.

“The Ascendency of Black Political Power in Mississippi.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** In The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi, University of Mississippi Press, 2013. Edited by Ted Ownby

“Course Portfolio for POLS 100: Power and Politics.” In Inquiry into the Classroom: A Practical Guide for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning, **Byron D’Andra Orey** Edited by Paul Savory, Amy Goodburn, and Amy Burnett Nelson. Boston: Anker Publishing, 2007

“Race and Gender Matter: Refining Models of Legislative Policy Making in State Legislatures.” 2006, Reprinted in Intersectionality and Politics Recent Research on Gender, Race, and Political Representation in the United States. Edited by Carol Hardy-Fanta

“Black and Brown Conflict? Intergroup Attitudes and their Impact on Policy Preferences.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** and Jessica Monfort 2006. In Jessica Perez-Monforti and William Nelson’s Black And Latina/o Politics: Issues In Political Development In The United States Barnhardt & Ashe Publishing Company

“Teaching the Politics of Race in a Majority White Institution.” **Byron D’Andra Orey** 2006. In C.A. Stanley (Ed.), Faculty of color teaching in predominantly white colleges and universities. Bolton, MA: Anker Publishing Company (2006)

“Participation in Electoral Politics”, **Byron D’Andra Orey** 2004. In African Americans and Political Participation, edited by K.C. Morrison (ABC-CLIO Press) with Reginald Vance

#### **On-Line Publications**

“Understanding the Important Role of Support Staff.” American Political Science Association.

#### **Non-Peer Reviewed Articles/Manuscripts**

“The Ascendency to Black Power: Mississippi State Legislators,” in Who’s Who in Black Mississippi. Mississippi Press. 2012

“The Cross-Cutting Issue of AIDS in the Black Community.” *Oracle*, Winter 2008

### **Newspaper Articles**

“Is Black History Still Relevancy” Jackson Free Press, March 6, 2013.

<http://www.jacksonfreepress.com/news/2013/mar/06/relevance-black-history/>

### **Courses Taught**

*Undergraduate:* Power and Politics (honors); Power and Politics; Public Issues The Black Experience; Minority Politics; Political Participation Polls, Politics, and Public Opinion; Elections; Blacks and the American Political System; and Political Parties and Interest Groups; Research, Scope and Methods; The Legislative Process

*Graduate:* Race and the U.S. Political System; Blacks in the American Political System; Research Scopes and Methods; Political Inquiry & Research

### **Personal Awards/Grants/Fellowships**

*National Science Foundation*, Conference: Understanding Democracy, Elections, and Political Accountability. Grant # 2321010. Received 2023

*Community Foundation for Greater Atlanta Voter Registration and Education Project*, \$14,000. This grant provided funding for the purpose of increasing voter awareness and mobilization at Jackson State University.

*Kellogg Foundation*, \$500,000 Emmett Till Interpretative Center, Tougaloo College, B. D’Andra Orey and James Loewen. This grant will allow the PIs to disseminate their textbook, Mississippi Conflict and Change and to conduct a social justice institute at Tougaloo College in Summer 2023.

*National Science Foundation*, “The Intersection of Race, Exposure to Trauma, and Politics.” \$509,000. Grant #2128198. Received 2021

*University of Michigan*, Minority Serving Institutions Outreach and Collaboration Grant \$30,000. This award will help build collaborations between faculty and students at Jackson State University and the University of Michigan. Received 2020

*National Science Foundation Intern Grant*, \$47,000. This grant is a supplement to NSF grant #1649960. It will provide an opportunity for two graduate students to conduct internships that will help them develop professional work skills related to their field of study. Received 2020

*National Park Service*, \$27,569 This grant provides funding for an oral history project. It includes one graduate assistant. 2019

*National Science Foundation Intern Grant*, \$35,000. This grant is a supplement to NSF grant #1649960. It will provide an opportunity for a graduate student to conduct an internship that would help her develop her professional skills. 2019

*University of Michigan*, \$8,000. This award will help build collaborations between faculty and students at Jackson State University and the University of Michigan. Received 2019

*W. K. Kellogg Foundation Community Leadership Network Fellowship*, \$25,000. Nominated and awarded out of 800 applicants only 80 were accepted. 2019

*Anna Julia Cooper Teacher of the Year* National Conference of Black Political Scientists. 2019

*National Science Foundation*. \$35,000. This award is a supplement to NSF grant #1649960.

*Alpha Kappa Alpha*. Teacher of the Year. 2017

*National Science Foundation Grant*, \$179,000. Awarded August 2016. Title: "Racial Biases and Physiological Responses." # 1649960

*National Science Foundation Grant*, \$170,000. Awarded May 2015. Title: "The Impact of Racially Traumatic Events on African Americans? Physiological, Psychological and Political Responses." #1541562

*Academic Exchange Fellowship*, August 2 – August 10, 2015—This is an invitation-only fellowship. I was nominated by Professor Judith Kelley, the Stephan Haggard, Krause Distinguished Professor at Duke University. This purpose of the program is to invite Political Scientists to Israel to attend meetings with prominent Israeli and Palestinian policymakers, scholars and opinion leaders, covering a wide range of topics and political perspectives on domestic, foreign policy and security issues. I attended the law section of the program.

*Center for Undergraduate Research*, Awarded 2014-2015—Received a grant in the amount of \$7,000 to conduct research in collaborations with a team of undergraduates on physiological responses to racially traumatic events. Experimental research will be conducted with students who will conduct the experiments and analyze the data. Students presented their findings at the Mississippi Political Science Association and the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

2014 Jackson State University Faculty Excellence Award

2014 Liberal Art's Outstanding Researcher Award

*Center for Undergraduate Research*, Awarded 2013-2014—Received a grant in the amount of \$7,000 to conduct research with undergraduate students in the area of experimental research. Students will conduct experiments and analyze data to examining the impact of hair texture on African-American political attitudes. Students will present their findings at three national, regional and local conferences.

*Jackson State University Creative Arts Award*, 2014-2015. “The Study of Hairtexture and Candidate Evaluation.” This award in the amount of \$5,000 was presented by the President of Jackson State University to provide seed money for innovative research.

*Palestinian American Research Center Fellow*, 2013

- The fellowship provided full funding to investigate Palestinian in-group subconscious attitudes. This project compares African-American attitudes in the United States to Palestinian attitudes (Travel Dates: May 15-May 27, 2013).

*Center for Undergraduate Research*, Awarded 2012-2013—Received a grant in the amount of \$7,000 to conduct research with undergraduate students in the area of survey research. Students conducted a random digit dialing survey of respondents from various counties in Mississippi using “landline only telephone numbers.” The results revealed that a bias existed due to the failure of employing cell phones. Students used this project to present at three conferences, including a national conference.

*UC-HBCU Initiative*, Awarded 2012-2013— Awarded \$28,090 grant from the University of California-Historically Black Colleges and Universities Initiative (UC-HBCU) for 2012-13, Belinda Robnett and Katherine Tate, co-PIs. The HBCU partners are Byron Orey (Jackson State University) and Desiree Pedescleaux (Spelman College).

Diamond Award for Outstanding Teaching—Undergraduate Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi, Jackson State University Awarded 2012.

“Who’s Who in Black Mississippi.” 2012. Recognized for achievements in the field of education.

Service Learning Faculty Fellow, Jackson State University Service Learning, \$2,500, 2011-2012

Jewel Limar Prestage Mentorship Award, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, March 2011 (\$1,000)

Global Inquiry Faculty Teaching Seminar Fellow, Jackson State University. \$5,000. July 2011

Advisor of the Year, Jackson State University Political Science Club. 2011

Virginia Institute for Psychiatric and Behavioral Genetics, Virginia Commonwealth University. Was invited to participate in a working Group using Minnesota Twin Data, August 2010 (Travel Grant)

Fellow, Community Census and Redistricting Institute, Duke University. \$2,000. August 2010

Global Inquiry Faculty Teaching Seminar Fellow, Jackson State University. \$5,000. July 2010

Help America Vote Act, \$2,500. "Teaching students about Poll Working." Fall 2010

International Workshop on Statistical Genetics and Methodology of Twin and Family Studies. February 28-March 6, 2010. Boulder, Colorado (Travel Grant plus tuition waiver)

TESS: Time Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (2009): Winner of a competition to collect data for the following project: "Trusted Sources and Racial Attitudes" (with Lester Spence)

National Science Foundation Grant, \$69,000. "The 2008 Presidential Election." 1/09-12/31/09. SES-0905629

Mississippi Humanities Council, "Oral History Interviews of Members of the Legislative Black Caucus." \$2,000, September 2008

Anna Julia Cooper National Teaching Award 2008, National Conference of Black Political Scientists

Research Council, Visiting Scholar Grant, 2007 (\$800): Received funds to assist in defraying the cost for the guest speaker of the Annual MLK Banquet sponsored by the Afrikan People Union (student organization)

Senning Summer Faculty Fellowship. "African-American Legislative Chairs." (2007): \$10,000

Initiative for Teaching and Learning Excellence III, UNL. "Sankofa: Challenging Racial Mythologies Here and Abroad" (2006: \$16,500, Denied)

Emerging Scholars Summer Fellow, University of Michigan, 2006, "Empirical Summer Program in Applied Multi-Ethnic Research at the Inter-University consortium for Political and Social Research" \$2,500

Layman Fund Award 2006, "Black Intra-Cultural Attitudes Toward Race-based Policies." (2006-2007): \$9,500

Senning Summer Faculty Fellowship, "The Intersection of Race and Gender in examining descriptive and substantive representation." (2006): \$6,500

Department of Labor, Broad Agency Small Contract, "Race and the Uninsured," with Tina Mueller. (2006, \$25,000, denied)

Initiative for Teaching and Learning Excellence II, UNL. "Sankofa, a Return to the Middle Passage." (2005): \$15,000, denied

Senning Summer Faculty Fellowship, 2005, "Race, Gender and Structure Matter: Descriptive versus Substantive Representation." (2005): \$6,500

Summer Grant Writing Institute, 2005, "Opposition to Racially-Targeted Redistributive Programs." (\$2,750)

National Science Foundation, 2004, "Black Racial Conservatives: Racial Uplift or Racial Resentment?" (Denied, \$204,000)

Maude Hammond Fellowship, 2004, Research Council, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, "Black Conservatives and Intra-group resentment." (2004): \$10,000

Senning Summer Faculty Fellowship, "African Americans in the State Legislative Power Structure: Committee Chairs." (Summer 2004): \$6,500

Gallup Research Professorship 2003-2004, "Explaining Black Conservatives: Racial Resentment or Racial Uplift?" (Summer 2003): \$4,600

Faculty Research Small Grant, "Deracialization or Racialization: The Making of a Black Mayor," University of Mississippi, (Summer 2000): \$3,500

National Science Foundation/Quality Education for Minority Network (January 1993) Amount: \$2,500

-To conduct research on the Federal Government's financial contributions to Historically Black Colleges and Universities

#### **Conference Participation**

2022. NCOBPS

“Racial Bias and the Shooting of Unarmed Blacks.” Invited Talk. Miniconference on inequality of public administration/policy, May 21-22, 2020. American University, Washington, D.C. **CANCELED**

“A System of Bad Apples: When Racial Identity Trumps Resentment in the Shooting of Unarmed Blacks by Black Officers,” with Periloux Peay. National Conference of Black Political Scientists, March 12-14, 2020. Buckhead, GA

“How Culture Shapes Equity and Health.” Invited Talk. 2020 Sharing Knowledge to Build a Culture of Health Conference. March 4-6, 2020 at the Jackson Convention Complex in Jackson, Mississippi.

“African Americans' Emotional Responses to the Mississippi State Flag.” Southern Political Science Association, San Juan Puerto Rico. January 9-11, 2020, Caribe Hilton Hotel, San Juan Puerto Rico.

“Intersection of Political Science and Other Disciplines.” College Day. Jackson State University, Student Center. April 15, 2019.

Roundtable, ‘NCOBPS History: An Overview of Presidential Administrations.’ National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baton Rouge, LA. 2019.

“African Americans Emotional Responses to Trump, the Confederate Flag and Police.” American Political Science Association. Boston, MA. September 2018.

“African Americans Physiological Responses to Confederate Symbols.” Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 7, 2017.

“Environmental Justice Policy, Intersectionality and Racial Context,” National Conference of Black Political Scientists, March 16, 2017.

“Understanding Black Political Attitudes and the Intersection of Hair Texture and Colorism,” Annual Conference of the Mississippi Political Science Association, Jackson, MS, February 10, 2017.

“The 50th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act and the Quiet Revolution,” Mississippi Political Science Association, Jackson, MS. Gloria Billingsley, B. D'Andra Orey and Athena M. King. February 10, 2017.

“Accountability, Customization, Sustainability, & Production: The Interdisciplinary Faculty Writing Boot Camp” Mississippi Philological Association Annual Conference. February 11, 2017. Mississippi Valley State University, Itta Bena, MS.

“Author Meets Critics: Robert Mickey’s Paths Out of Dixie,” Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 14, 2017

“Accountability, Customization, Sustainability, & Production: Reflecting on Our Liberal Arts Faculty Writing Boot Camp.” College of Liberal Arts Conference, Jackson, MS. October 8, 2016.

“Teaching about Mississippi in Trying Times.” Roundtable, College of Liberal Arts Conference, Jackson, MS. October 7, 2016.

Paper: “HBCUs to Conduct Research on Black Political Attitudes and Behavior.” (Students: Kiescia Dickinson, Courtney Viverette and Jauan Knight). National Conference of Black Political Scientist conference (March 17-19 2016). Hilton Garden Inn. Jackson, Mississippi.

Paper: “Southern White Legislative backlash to the Voting Rights Act of 1965.” (Student: Ernest DuPree). Southern Political Science Association conference. (January 7-9, 2016 at the Caribe Hilton, San Juan Puerto Rico.

Round Table: “Reflections on Voting Rights in the South in the Age of *Shelby v. Holder*.” Southern Political Science Association Southern Political Science Association conference. (January 7-9, 2016 at the Caribe Hilton, San Juan Puerto Rico.

“Blacks' Political Attitudes and Psychological Responses to Racially Traumatic Stressful Events.” Southern Political Science Association Southern Political Science Association conference. (January 7-9, 2016 at the Caribe Hilton, San Juan Puerto Rico.

Paper: “Black Strategic Voting or Genuine Republican Support: The 2014 Mississippi Senate.” (Student: Nafessa Edges). National Conference of Black Political Scientists conference (March 17-21, 2015). Double Tree Hotel. Atlanta, GA.

Paper: “Psychological and Physiological Responses to Traumatic Events: The Case of Ferguson, Missouri.” (Students: Kyler Lee and Jasmine Jackson). Paper presented at the National Conference of Black Political Scientists conference (March 17-21, 2015). Double Tree Hotel, Atlanta, GA.

Paper: “The Evolution and Devolution of the Voting Rights Act (1965-2014). National Conference of Black Political Scientists Conference (March 17-21, 2015). Double Tree Hotel, Atlanta, GA.

Paper: “Sources We Can Believe In: The Effect of Elite Level Cueing on Black Attributions of Inequality.” Mississippi Political Science Association (February 13, 2015). Jackson State University, Jackson, MS.

Roundtable: “(Non)Traditional Methods in the Study of Black Politics: Voices from the Field.” American Political Science Association: Roundtable (August 30, 2014). Washington, D.C. Hilton.

Paper: “Candidate Evaluation of Black Women Candidates’ Hair Style and Texture,” (with Nadia Brown). Paper presented at the Southern Political Science Association’s annual meeting. (January 9-11, 2014) New Orleans, Louisiana.

Paper: “Moving Beyond Race and Gender: An Intersectional Analysis of Bill Sponsorship in State Legislatures,” (with Nadia Brown). Paper to be presented at the Southern Political Science Association’s annual meeting (January 9-11, 2014) New Orleans, Louisiana

Round Table: “The Status of the APSA Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century.” The Southern Political Science Association’s annual meeting, (January 9-11, 2014) New Orleans, Louisiana

Panel: Author Meets Critics: “Black Mayors White Majorities The Balancing Act of Racial Politics.” Ravi Perry Author. .” The Southern Political Science Association’s annual meeting, (January 9-11, 2014) New Orleans, Louisiana

Moderator: “New Mayor’s Perspective of the First 100 Days.” Mississippi Legislative Black Caucus Mayor’s Summit (September 26, 2013), Jackson State University, Jackson, MS

Paper: “Environmental Justice Policy, Intersectionality and Racial Context” (with Athena King). Paper presented at the Midwestern Political Science Association’s annual meeting, (April 11-13, 2013) Chicago, Illinois

Paper: “Intersectionality: Race, Gender and Party.” Paper presented at the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, (March 14-16, 2013) Oak Brook, Illinois

Roundtable Participant: “Research Opportunities at Historically Black Colleges and Universities.” National Conference of Black Political Scientists, (March 14-16, 2013) Oak Brook, Illinois

Paper: “Revisiting Black Racial Identity Using Subconscious Measures” Byron D’Andra Orey, Thomas Craemer and Melanye Price. Southern Political Science Association, (January 3-5, 2013) Orlando, FL

Roundtable: Using ICPSR Data in Undergraduate Research, Southern Political Science Association, (January 3-5, 2013) Orlando, FL

Invited Panelists: Conference within a Conference--Gender, Race, & Intersectionality, Southern Political Science Association, (January 3-5, 2013) Orlando, FL

Discussant: "The Representation and Presentation of Race and Gender" Southern Political Science Association, (January 3-5, 2013) Orlando, FL

Paper: "Using Black Samples to Investigate the Validity of Implicit Racial Attitude Measures" (Paper nominated for Best Paper for Race and Ethnicity Section) (Paper written, however, Conference Cancelled), (September 2013), American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA

Paper: Invited Participant: APSA Working Group on Implicit Attitudes, "Comparing AMP, IATs, Subliminal Priming and Black Identity" (Paper written, however, Conference Cancelled) Byron D'Andra Orey and Thomas Craemer, American Political Science Association, (September 2013) New Orleans, LA

Paper: "The Intersectionality of Race and Gender in State Legislatures," Women for Progress Conference, (September 2012) Jackson, MS.

Paper: "Validating Implicit Racial Attitude Measures in Black HBCU Samples," Midwestern Political Science Association, (April 12-15, 2012), Chicago, Illinois

Paper: "Black Conservatism and Opposition to Racial Policies," National Conference of Black Political Scientist, (March 14-17, 2012, Las Vegas, Nevada

Paper: "Black Legislative Politics in Mississippi," (with Rhonda Cooper), Southern Political Science Association, (January 11-14, 2012), New Orleans, LA

Chair, Panel: "Status of African Americans in the South," Southern Political Science Association, (January 11-14, 2012), New Orleans, LA

Participant: "SPSA 2013 Program Committee," Southern Political Science Association, (January 11-14, 2012), New Orleans, LA

Paper: "Intersections, Interactions, and Legislative Behavior," (with Shoronda Wofford), Mississippi Political Science Association, Millsaps College, (November 11-12, 2011), Jackson, MS

Discussant: Local Politics in Mississippi, Mississippi Political Science Association, Millsaps College, (November 11-12, 2011), Jackson, MS

Invited Panelist: Chairs Luncheon and Workshop: "Unwitting Leader: How to be an Effective Department Chair, and Live to Tell About It" (Departmental Services Committee), American Political Science Association, (September 1-4, 2011), Washington State Convention Center, Seattle Washington

Paper: "Genetic Similarity, Ethnocentrism, and Political Attitudes." American Political Science Association, (September 1-4, 2011), Washington State Convention Center, Seattle Washington

Chair, Panel: Race, Immigration and Public Opinion, American Political Science Association, (September 1-4, 2011), Washington State Convention Center Seattle Washington

Chair, Panel: "Racial Attitudes and the Role of Race in Electoral Politics." Southern Political Science Association (January 6-8, 2011), Intercontinental Hotel, New Orleans, LA

Paper: "Black Support for Racial Policies and The Double (Non)-Consciousness Thesis." Southern Political Science Association (January 6-8, 2011), Intercontinental Hotel. (with Leniece Davis and Byron Williams)

Paper: "Pro-Black Political Opinions, Participation and Stereotype Threat Among African-American College Students." American Political Science Association, (September 2010), Washington, D.C. (with Thomas Craemer and Hyung Park)

Paper: "Implicit Black Group-Identification and Stereotype Threat in the Age of Obama." International Society of Political Psychology, (July 2010), San Francisco, CA. (with Thomas Craemer)

Paper: "Implicit Racial Attitudes, Stereotype Threat, and Political Behavior among Young African Americans in the Age of Obama," Midwestern Political Science Association's Annual Meeting, (April 22, 2010), Chicago, IL, Palmer House. (with Thomas Cramer and Hyung Park)

Paper: "Black Elite Rhetoric and System Justification Ideology." American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting. Toronto, (September 5, 2009), Ontario, Canada, (with Hyung Park)

Paper: "American Patriotism and the Reverend Wrights of the World." National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Houston, TX (March 2009). (with Najja Baptist)

Paper: "American Identity and Disillusioned Liberalism Among African Americans." Midwestern Political Science Association's Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL, Palmer House. (April 2-5, 2009). (with Najja Baptist)

Paper: "Public Opinion and Substantive Representation." *Discussant* Midwestern Political Science Association's Annual Meeting. (April 2-5, 2009), Chicago, IL, Palmer House

Paper: "Political Socialization and Racial Conservatism." Southern Political Science Association's Annual Meeting, (January 9, 2009) New Orleans, LA Intercontinental Hotel

Paper: "System Justification Ideology and Black Opposition to Affirmative Action." (March 2007), National Conference of Black Political Scientists, San Francisco, CA

Paper: "When Race, Party and Gender Matter: State Legislative Behavior." Western Political Science Association, (March 2007), Las Vegas, Nevada

Chair, "Race and Fear." Hendricks Conference on Biology and Political Behavior, (October 13-14, 2006), Lincoln, Nebraska

Paper: "Roundtable: A Retro and Prospective: The 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Robert Smith's *We Have No Leaders*." The National Conference of Black Political Scientists' Annual Conference," (March 22-25, 2006), Atlanta, GA

Paper: "Roundtable: Representation and the Intersections of Gender, Race and Ethnicity." The Southern Political Science Association's Annual Meeting, (January 6-8, 2006), Atlanta, GA

Paper: "Mentoring Task Force Panel: Finding Mentors and Advocates in the Ivory Tower." American Political Science Association, (September 2005,) Washington, D.C.

Paper: "A Tale of Two Flags: The Mississippi and Georgia Flag Referenda." Midwestern Political Science Association, (April 7-9, 2005), Chicago, IL

Paper: "Explaining Black Conservatives." Western Political Science Association, (March 17-20, 2005), Oakland, CA

Paper: "Not Exactly What We Had in Mind for Inclusion: The Impact of Racial Resentment on Latinos" (with Jessica Perez-Monforti). Western Political Science Association, (March 17-20, 2005), Oakland, CA

Discussant: "Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity," (January 6-8, 2005), Southern Political Science Association

Paper: "Teaching Race in a Majority White Place." People of Color at Traditional White Institutions, (November 15-16, 2004), University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Lincoln, Nebraska

- Paper: "Black Conservatives and Black Nationalists: Convergence or Divergence." National Conference of Black Political Science, (March 25-27, 2004), Chicago, Illinois, Hyatt- McCormick Place
- Paper: "African American Racial Conservatives and Intra-group Resentment." Southern Political Science Association, (January 2004), New Orleans, LA (with LeKesha Harris)
- Paper: "Race and Gender Matter: Black Legislative Politics in Mississippi" (with Wendy Smooth), National Conference of Black Political Science, (March 25-27, 2004), Chicago, Illinois, Hyatt- McCormick Place
- Roundtable Participant: "The Role of College Faculty in AP Success." National AP Equity Colloquium, (March 20-21, 2004), Houston, TX, Houston Intercontinental Marriott
- Paper: "Black Conservatives: A Systematic Analysis." African and Latino Conference, (January 2003), Lincoln, Nebraska
- Paper: "Measuring Deracialization: A Systematic Analysis of the Deracialization Concept." Western Political Science Association, March 27-29, 2003
- Paper: "Explaining Black Conservatives: Racial Uplift or Racial Resentment?" National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Oakland, California
- Discussant, Southern Political Science Association, (November 6-10, 2002), Savannah, GA
- Paper: "Black Legislative Politics in Mississippi: Gender Matters," Southern Political Science Association, (November 6-10, 2002), Savannah, GA
- Paper: "Racial Uplift or Racial Resentment," Midwest Political Science Association, (April 2002), Chicago, IL
- Paper: "Racial Attitudes toward the Confederate Flag," Southern Political Science Association, (November 7-10, 2001) Atlanta, GA, with Khalilah Brown
- Paper: "White Opposition to Affirmative Action," Southern Political Science Association, (November 7-10, 2001) Atlanta, GA
- Paper: "The New Black Conservative: Rhetoric or Reality?" National Conference of Black Political Scientists, (March 8-10, 2001)
- Paper: "New Racial Attitudes in the New South." Race in America (Hendricks Symposium), University of Nebraska, (November 2-3, 2000) Lincoln, NE

Paper: "African Americans in the State Legislative Power Structure: Committee Chairs," American Political Science Association, (August 2000, Washington, D.C.)

Paper: "One Person-N Votes: An empirical analysis of Proportional representation in Cincinnati, Ohio," Midwest Political Science Association, (April 2000, Chicago, Illinois), with Kimberly Adams

Paper: "From Protest to Politics: A look at the success of black legislators in Mississippi," Midwest Political Science Association, (April 2000, Chicago, Illinois), with Kimberly Adams

Paper: "Framing the Issue, When the Issue is Race." American Political Science Association, (September 2-5, 1999), Atlanta, GA

Poster: "Racialization or Deracialization: The Making of a Black Mayor in Jackson, Mississippi," American Political Science Association, (September 2-6, 1998), Boston, MA

Paper: "The Race Race in Black and White: The 1995 Louisiana Gubernatorial Election," Southwest Political Science Association, (March 26-29, 1997), New Orleans, LA

Paper: "Mississippi Legislative Politics in Mississippi," Southern Political Science Association, (November 7-9, 1996), Atlanta, GA.

Paper: "Dispelling the Myth and Revealing the Truth: the Overrepresentation of Whites on City Councils," American Political Science Association, (September 1996) San Francisco, CA.

Roundtable Participant: "The Impact of Alternative Voting Systems" National Conference of Black Political Scientists, (March 1996), Norfolk, VA.

Paper: "Mississippi Black Legislators," National Conference of Black Political Scientists, (March 1996) Savannah, GA.

Paper: "Black Representation in the South," The Southern Regional Council=s Annual Voting Rights Seminar, Fall 1995 New Orleans, LA.

Paper: "One Person, N-Votes: In Search of a Remedy for Vote Dilution Claims in the Absence of Geographical Compactness," American Political Science Association, (September 1995) Chicago, Ill.

Paper: "Status Crow Politics and the Under-Representation of Black Women on the Bench" Southern Political Science Association, (November 3-5, 1994) Atlanta, GA

Paper: "One Person, N-Votes: Minority Representation on the Bench," The National Conference of Black Political Scientists (March 1994) Hampton, VA

Panel Chair: "The Politics of Electoral Reform," American Political Science Association, (September, 1994) New York, NY.

Discussant: Race and Reapportionment after *Shaw v. Reno*, Southern Political Science Association, (November 3-5, 1994) Atlanta, GA.

Participant: Mock Voting Rights Trial, The Southern Regional Council, Annual Voting Rights Seminar (October 1993), Peachtree City, Georgia

Paper: "When Excess Creates Progress: An Assessment of the Federal Government's Financial Contribution to HBCUs," The Southern Political Science Association (Fall 1993) Savannah, GA.

Paper: "When Excess Creates Progress: An Assessment of the National Science Foundation's Financial Contribution to HBCUs," The National Black Graduate Student Association's Annual Conference (May 1993) University of Minnesota

Paper: "The Disparity of Federal Expenditures received by Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) compared to Non-HBCUs," The Quality Education for Minority Network's Annual Education Conference (August 1992), Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Paper: "The Purpose of Cognitive Inventories for Secondary Students," Southern Association for Educational Opportunity Program Personnel (1990), Tupelo, MS

#### **Invited Presentations**

"Emotions, Trauma and Political Participation," Brown University, Spring 2023.

"Mississippi Conflict and Change," University of Michigan, May 10, 2022.

"The Power of Perseverance: Black Politics of American Democracy Workshop, Facilitator. Princeton University, March 31, 2022.

Intersectionality and Intersections: Race, Gender and Legislative Behavior. Princeton University, March 30, 2022.

Trusted Sources, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, March 8 2022

MLK Convocation, Creighton University, January 18, 2022.

- “Does the Confederate Flag Make You Sick?” University of Mississippi, April 12, 2017.
- “The Impact of Race and Gender on the 2016 Presidential Election,” Metropolitan Community College, Omaha, Nebraska. February 2, 2017.
- “The Strange Career of Black Politics,” Florida State University, January 26, 2017.
- “New Developments in the Study of Race and Politics,” Buffalo State University, November 1, 2016.
- “Contemporary Topics in the Study of Race and Politics,” Annual Joseph T. Taylor Symposium at Indiana University, Purdue University Indiana (IUPUI), February 25, 2014
- “A Dare to Be Great: Honoring our Ancestors.” National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s Annual Banquet. Lincoln, Nebraska. November 9, 2013.
- “Alumni Given at HBCUs.” The Douglas T. Porter Athletic Scholarship Banquet. October 25, 2013. Mississippi Valley State University, Itta Bena, MS.
- “One Man’s Journey to African, the Middle East and the Caribbean.” Metropolitan Community College September 12, 2013.
- “Reflecting on the Life and Work of Attorney Isaiah Madison.” Isaiah Madison Memorial Symposium on Higher Education, April 18, 2013
- “Voter Suppression in the United States,” Mississippi Valley State University’s Pi Sigma Alpha Honor Society April 8, 2013
- “Research Opportunities at Historically Black Colleges and Universities.” University of California, Irvine February 27, 2013
- Roundtable discussion, “Has the Dream Been Fulfilled?” February 19, 2013, Jackson State University Political Science Club, Jackson, MS
- Mississippi Valley State University Black History Month Convocation, Guest Speaker February 18, 2013
- “New Developments in Race and Politics.” St Andrews High School, December 12, 2013
- “Voting and Democracy,” St. Andrews High School, Ridgeland, MS, November 15, 2011

Robert Clark Symposium, “2011 Election Day: Implication and Analysis, What does it Really Mean?” Jackson State University, November 9, 2011

Emerging Scholars Conference, (with mentee JaLisa Jorden). “Black Political Attitudes and Obama as a Trusted Source: Is it the Message or the Messenger?” University of Michigan, September 29-October 1, 2011

“Mentoring Graduate Assistants.” Workshop: Activity 7 Program, May 18, 2011. Jackson State University Student Center

Conference on Laboratory Experiments in Political Science, Stereotype Threat Among African-American College Students, Vanderbilt University, May 4-6, 2011

University Development Foundation Board Meeting. Invited by the President of the University to make a presentation on the research agenda in the Department of Political Science, MS e-Center, December 10, 2010

Hendrick’s Symposium (with mentees JaLisa Jorden and Ebou Sowe). “Elites as Trusted Sources: Do Blacks Believe Everything President Obama Says?” November 3-5, 2010. University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Terry High School. “To Thine Own Self Be True.” October 19, 2010. Terry Mississippi

Porter L. Fortune, History Symposium: Future of the South Conference. “Substantive Representation and the Mississippi Legislative Black Caucus.” University of Mississippi, Oxford, MS. February 18, 2010

“Obama Administration: One Year Later.” Roundtable Participant. Medgar Evers/Ella Baker Lecture Series, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, MS. November 16, 2009

“Presidential Approval Ratings.” Lecture at St. Andrews High School’s Advanced Placement U.S. Government course, November 10, 2009

Matthew Holden, Jr. Symposium Lecture. “A Response to Glen Loury.” November 5, 2009. Jackson State University

University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Keynote Speaker: Hurricane Katrina: A Remembrance in Three Acts, September 25, 2007

New York University, John Jost’s Psychology Laboratory. “System Justification and Black Opposition to Affirmative Action.” September 13, 2007

Oxford University (Oxford, England), Oxford Roundtable, "Religion and Politics." July 2007

Williams College, Voting Rights Roundtable, February 9-10, 2007

Emory University School of Law Public Interest Committee, "Annual Public Interest Conference." October 7, 2006

Yale University, Presenter: "Lessons from the Past, Prospects for the Future: A Conference in honor the Fortieth Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965." April 21-23, 2005

University of Nebraska, Lincoln. "From Selma to Washington," April 18, 2005

University of Nebraska, Lincoln. "Martin Luther King Forum on Reparations." (January 20, 2005)

University of Mississippi. "Race and the Mississippi State Flag." February, 2005

University of Southern Illinois. "Explaining Black Racial Conservatives." December 9, 2004

Middle Tennessee State University. "The Year of the Ballot or the Bullet." April 22, 2004

The College Board, Arranged a Panel on "The Role of College Faculty in AP Success." *National AP Equity Colloquium*. March 20-21, 2004

Washington University, Lecture: "Racial Uplift or Racial Resentment: Explaining Black Conservatives?" February 6, 2004

University of Winneba, Winneba, Ghana (West Africa). June 2004

University of Mississippi, "Retaining Black Faculty and about Tenure," Panelist. January 23, 2004

University of Nebraska, Lincoln. "What does it take to get elected in the United States?" Round Table, sponsored by Pi Sigma Alpha. February 20, 2003

Southern Association for College Student Affairs, Panelists: "Town Hall Meeting on Symbols," November 2002

University of Nebraska, Lincoln. "Post Election Roundtable Panelists," sponsored by Pi Sigma Alpha. November 2002

November 2-3, 2000. "New Racial Attitudes in the New South" Hendricks  
Symposium on Race, University of Nebraska

September 2000. Lecture, "A New Racism in the New South." Center for the  
Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi

**Ph. D. Committees**

Rob Denne, Jackson State University, Department of Education  
Ronella Gollman, Jackson State University, Department of Psychology  
Princeton Smith, Jackson State University, Department of Psychology  
Daphne Foster, Public Policy, Jackson State University (member)  
Peter Hatemi, Political Science, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Defense: Spring  
2007 (member)  
Reginald Vance, Southern University, Baton Rouge, Defense: December 2006  
(Chair)  
James H. Moore, Howard University (Economics), Defense: December 2004  
(member)  
Kimberly Adams, University of Mississippi, Defense: Spring 2003 (outside  
member)  
Mitch Herring, University of Nebraska, Lincoln Defense: Spring 2008 (Political  
Science, member)  
Yolanda Johnson, University of Nebraska, Lincoln (Sociology, member)  
Eric Whitaker, University of Nebraska, Lincoln (Political Science, member)

**Master's Theses:**

Donn Spann, Department of Communications (Completion Date: 2019)  
Janeya Smith, Jackson State University, Department of Political Science (Chair,  
Completion date: December 2018)  
Spencer McClenty, Jackson State University, Department of Communication  
(Completion October 2018)  
Caleb Smith, Jackson State University, Department of History (Completion date:  
October 2017)  
Sharonda Woodford, Jackson State University, Department of Political Science  
(Completion date: summer 2013)  
Alfonso Franklin, Jackson State University, Department of History (Completion  
date: May 2013)  
Emmitt Riley, Jackson State University (Chair, Completion date: May 2010)  
Najja Baptist, Jackson State University (Chair, Completion: August 2010)  
Matthew Hastings, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. (Chair, Thesis Completion:  
Spring 2007)

**Honor's Thesis:**

Andy Conroy (Co-Advisor), Completed: Spring, 2006

## **University Services**

SACSCOC Quality Enhancement Plan Committee, 2019-2021 and 2008-2011  
University Promotion and Tenure Appeals Committee, 2019-2020  
Promotion and Tenure Committee Psychology 2018  
Mentor, Ronald E. McNair Summer Program, Jackson State University (Mentee:  
Keirrah Wheeler)  
Promotion and Tenure Committee Psychology 2017  
College of Liberal Arts Promotion and Tenure Committee, 2015-2016  
Political Science Club Advisor, 2014-2015  
Pi Sigma Alpha Advisor, 2017-Present  
Pi Sigma Alpha Advisor, 2014-2015  
Member of the Faculty Senate, 2014-2015  
Faculty Third Year Review, Department of Political Science, Chair Spring of  
2015  
Faculty Third Year Review, Department of Political Science, Chair Fall of 2014  
Faculty Third Year Review, Department of History Fall 2013  
Search Committee for the Bachelor of Social Work and Master's of Social Work  
Program Directors. Fall 2013  
University Think Tank Committee, Jackson State University (appointed Fall  
2013)  
Advisory Board, Center for Excellence in Minority Health and Health Disparities  
(appointed Spring 2013)  
Tenure Committee, Department of History Fall 2012  
Promotion Committee, Department of Public Policy Fall 2012  
Conference Coordinator for the National Bar Association—Served as the  
Coordinator in hosting the NBA's annual meeting at Jackson State University.  
September 2012  
Promotion Committee, Department of Music Fall 2011  
College of Liberal Arts Promotion and Tenure Committee. 2011-2012 (elected  
position)  
Jackson State University, Advisory Board, Advance Project (National Science  
Foundation Grant), appointed by PI. 2011-present  
Symposia Subcommittee of the Presidential Inaugural Planning Committee Fall  
2011  
Research Advisory Council, 2011-present, appointed by Vice President for  
Research  
Employment/Hiring Committee Public Policy Spring 2011  
Search Committee for Office of Student Life, January 2011  
Promotion Committee, Department of Business Fall 2010  
Promotion Committee, Department of Psychology Fall 2010  
Promotion Committee, Department of Public Health Fall 2010  
College of Liberal Arts Promotion and Tenure Committee. 2010-2011 (elected  
position)  
40<sup>th</sup> Gibbs-Green Anniversary Observance Planning Committee, Jackson State  
University, 2010

Executive Committee, University of Nebraska, Division of Arts and Sciences, 2007-2008  
 Diversity Committee, University of Nebraska, 2007-2008  
 Executive Committee, University of Nebraska, Department of Political Science, 2006-2007 and 2002-2003  
 Undergraduate Creative Activities and Research Experiences (UCARE), Student Advisor, University of Nebraska, 2006 (Amanda Ponce)  
 Mentor, Ronald E. McNair Summer Program, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Summer, 2006 (Mentee: Amanda Ponce)  
 Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, (2005-2006)  
 Political Science Unit Review Committee, University of Nebraska (2005-2008)  
 University of Nebraska Marshal Corp: Appointed by the dean of Arts and Sciences (Summer 2004-Present)  
 Member, Undergraduate Committee (2003-Present)  
 Mentor, Ronald E. McNair Summer Program, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 2003 (Mentees: Donald McCauley and Potso Byndon)  
 Member, Executive Committee, University of Nebraska, Department of Political Science, 2002-present  
 Mentor, Ronald E. McNair Summer Program, University of Mississippi, 1999 (Mentee: Kimberly Walker, Alcorn State University)

#### **Professional Services and Activities**

Conference Program Chair, Southern Political Science Association, 2023  
 Vice President, Southern Political Science Association. 2022  
 Commissioner, Mississippi Civil Rights Education Commission 2019-Present  
 Executive Council, Southern Political Science Association 2014-2015  
 American Political Science Association: Committee for Best Book in the Race, Ethnicity and Politics section. 2014  
 American Political Science Association's Minority Fellows Program Selection Committee 2013  
 Dianne Blair Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association. 2013  
 Section Chair, Professional and Career Development, Midwestern Political Science Association. 2013 (Conference to be held in 2014).  
 External Reviewer, Tenure and Promotion, Southern Illinois University, Fall 2013.  
 Section Chair, National Conference of Black Political Scientists: Undergraduate Research 2013.  
 Section Chair: Teaching Political Science, Southern Political Science Association, Orlando, Florida January 3-5, 2013  
 Member of the Status of Blacks in the Discipline, American Political Science Association (appointed 2012-present)  
 Section Chair, Southern Political Science Association: Teaching Political Science, 2012

Member of the Membership Committee for the Southern Political Science Association (appointed 2012)  
External Reviewer, Tenure and Promotion Committee, September 2012, University of Houston, Clearwater  
External Reviewer, Third Year Review, Clark University, November 2011  
External Reviewer, Tenure and Promotion Committee, Rutgers University, Newark, September 2011  
Section Chair: The Status of Blacks in the South, Southern Political Science Association, 2012  
Section Chair: Public Opinion, Midwestern Political Science Association, 2009  
Lucius Barker Award Committee, 2008 Midwestern Political Science Association.  
Executive Committee (member), National Conference of Political Science (2007-2010)  
Section Chair: Identity Politics: Gender, Class, Ethnicity, Sexuality, and Religion, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, 2007.  
Section Chair: Race and Politics, National Conference of Black Political Scientists 2005.  
Jewell Prestage Awards Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association 2004.  
Section Chair: Race and Ethnicity, Southwest Political Science Association. 2004.  
Section Chair: Race and Ethnicity, Midwestern Political Science Association, 2002.  
University of Nebraska, Lincoln. "What does it take to get elected in the United States?" Round Table, sponsored by Pi Sigma Alpha. February 20, 2003.  
Southern Association for College Student Affairs, Panelists: "Town Hall Meeting on Symbols," Biloxi, Mississippi. November 2002.  
University of Nebraska, Lincoln. "Post Election Roundtable Panelists," sponsored by Pi Sigma Alpha. November 2002.

#### **Other Professional Activities**

##### **Education Consultation:**

Testing Development Committee (member) 2008-2011, Education Testing Services (Princeton, New Jersey): Assist in writing objective questions for the Advanced Placement Exam (Government and Politics).

College Board Consultant—Conduct workshops to High School Government Instructors on teaching Advanced Placement Government and Politics (April 2002-Present).

Question Leader for the Advance Placement Exam, in U.S. Government and Politics (Summers 2007-Present).

Table Leader for the Advance Placement Exam, in American Government, Educational Testing Services (Summers 1996-2003).

Reader for the Advance Placement Exam, in American Government, Educational Testing Services (Summers 1996-1998).

**Expert Witness Work:**

*Mark A. Anderson v. City of McComb*, Mississippi, Gregory Martin and John Does 1-5.

*Voting Rights Expert Witness Work:*

*Cecil Cantrell v. Monroe County*, Mississippi (Deposition given)  
Testified before the Mississippi Legislative Reapportionment Committee (April 2001)

*Lewis, et al. v. Alamance County, et al.* (Deposition given).

*Rose Johnson, et al. v. The City of Gainesville, GA* (Testified)

*Jackson v. Nassau County Board of Supervisors*

City of Hampton, Virginia

**Editorial  
Review  
Boards**

*American Political Science Review*

*The Ralph Bunche Journal of Public Affairs*

*Journal of Race and Policy*

*Pi Sigma Alpha Undergraduate Journal (Faculty Advisory Board)*

*State Politics and Policy Quarterly*

**Reviewer**

*American Political Science Review; Journal of Politics; American Journal of Political Science; Legislative Studies Quarterly; Women, Politics and Policy; National Political Science Review; American Politics Research; Political Research Quarterly; Politics and Policy; Oxford University Press; Lynne Rienner Publishers; Journal of Race and Policy; Social Science Quarterly; Urban Affairs Quarterly; SUNY PRESS; Political Communication, University of Michigan Press; TESS (Time-Sharing Experiences for the Social Sciences); National Science Foundation; the Social Science Journal; Routledge Press; Journal of African American Studies; Social Psychological and Personality Science; Pi Sigma Alpha Undergraduate Journal.*

**Community Services**

Mentor, Empowering Males to Build Opportunities for Developing Independence (EMBODI)

Mentor, New Focus for Youth after-school program

Board of Directors of the PERICO Institute for Youth Development and Entrepreneurship (PRIYDE), Jackson, MS (November 1, 2011-Present)

Member, Charter Revision Commission, Lincoln, Nebraska 2002-2006

Member, Nebraska's Help America Vote Act (Secretary of State's Office) 2002-2006

**Professional Organizations**

American Political Science Association  
National Conference of Black Political Scientists  
Southern Political Science Association  
Midwestern Political Science Association  
Mississippi Political Science Association

**Appendix 2. Voter File BISG Percent Turnout by Race 2020 – County Level**

County	White turnout		Black turnout	Turnout gap
Adams	65.59%	74.69%	9.10%	
Alcorn	45.92%	60.71%	14.79%	
Amite	64.96%	76.81%	11.85%	
Attala	64.28%	77.20%	12.92%	
Benton	65.22%	76.85%	11.62%	
Bolivar	61.49%	72.79%	11.31%	
Calhoun	59.73%	73.95%	14.23%	
Carroll	72.36%	78.62%	6.26%	
Chickasaw	63.40%	73.28%	9.88%	
Choctaw	77.73%	83.88%	6.15%	
Claiborne	63.71%	73.89%	10.18%	
Clarke	67.73%	75.04%	7.31%	
Clay	67.91%	80.79%	12.88%	
Coahoma	50.43%	75.41%	24.98%	
Copiah	61.13%	74.22%	13.08%	
Covington	60.85%	68.24%	7.39%	
De Soto	57.09%	66.26%	9.17%	
Forrest	51.21%	69.05%	17.84%	
Franklin	67.06%	78.68%	11.62%	
George	58.67%	71.41%	12.74%	
Greene	67.23%	75.57%	8.34%	
Grenada	61.00%	73.43%	12.44%	
Hancock	50.11%	61.57%	11.46%	
Harrison	45.17%	58.22%	13.06%	
Hinds	50.45%	62.30%	11.85%	
Holmes	59.89%	68.76%	8.87%	
Humphreys	64.58%	78.83%	14.24%	
Issaquena	70.52%	87.01%	16.49%	
Itawamba	56.59%	68.67%	12.08%	
Jackson	55.42%	63.92%	8.50%	
Jasper	73.43%	78.92%	5.49%	
Jefferson	69.39%	75.34%	5.95%	
Jefferson Davis	68.79%	75.75%	6.96%	
Jones	58.04%	71.90%	13.86%	
Kemper	60.45%	68.34%	7.89%	
Lafayette	62.85%	68.80%	5.96%	
Lamar	64.68%	77.59%	12.91%	
Lauderdale	59.27%	73.72%	14.45%	
Lawrence	72.41%	78.15%	5.74%	

Leake	59.44%	70.95%	11.51%
Lee	59.05%	74.85%	15.80%
Leflore	42.89%	67.41%	24.52%
Lincoln	64.49%	77.59%	13.11%
Lowndes	57.73%	66.76%	9.03%
Madison	64.36%	77.52%	13.16%
Marion	63.52%	75.88%	12.36%
Marshall	59.99%	71.77%	11.78%
Monroe	62.54%	73.06%	10.52%
Montgomery	69.52%	82.62%	13.10%
Neshoba	57.68%	70.54%	12.86%
Newton	64.54%	78.69%	14.15%
Noxubee	66.83%	79.77%	12.95%
Oktibbeha	59.36%	66.99%	7.63%
Panola	59.86%	69.04%	9.19%
Pearl River	58.45%	68.42%	9.97%
Perry	64.44%	70.82%	6.37%
Pike	61.00%	75.34%	14.33%
Pontotoc	57.44%	67.83%	10.39%
Prentiss	61.75%	71.71%	9.97%
Quitman	63.69%	74.76%	11.07%
Rankin	65.82%	71.59%	5.77%
Scott	53.96%	66.46%	12.49%
Sharkey	62.07%	77.73%	15.66%
Simpson	62.48%	74.23%	11.74%
Smith	66.58%	73.82%	7.24%
Stone	63.02%	73.00%	9.97%
Sunflower	54.39%	78.55%	24.16%
Tallahatchie	57.71%	67.34%	9.63%
Tate	63.30%	74.95%	11.64%
Tippah	61.16%	71.09%	9.93%
Tishomingo	64.14%	70.55%	6.41%
Tunica	34.45%	40.34%	5.89%
Union	59.30%	78.34%	19.03%
Walthall	62.65%	73.17%	10.52%
Warren	66.27%	78.32%	12.05%
Washington	51.38%	66.46%	15.07%
Wayne	66.69%	77.53%	10.84%
Webster	64.08%	77.51%	13.43%
Wilkinson	57.52%	65.05%	7.52%
Winston	67.64%	80.86%	13.22%
Yalobusha	58.54%	64.91%	6.37%

Yazoo	47.50%	66.80%	19.30%
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